A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CERTAIN FLOOD LEGENDS, WITH THE EMPHASIS UPON MOTIVATION.

By

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Introduction

This paper aims to focus upon the Chester Play of the Flood a brief, comparative, literary study of the Deluge Legends of the Sumerians, Babylonians, Hebrews, Greeks, Romans, Hindus, and of the natives of the Leeward Islands and the Montagnais tribe of the Algonquins. To some, such an aim may appear to involve the comparison of dissimilars. But it should be remembered: (1) that a direct line of tradition connects the Sumerians, Babylonian, Hebrew, and Chester versions; (2) that there is evidence of a Semitic origin of the Deucalion story and that the Ovidian account is an amplification of Apollodorus' version of the latter; (3) that significant similarities are apparent in the Babylonian and Sanskrit stories; and (4) that the successive stages of each of these main lines of tradition from the Sumerian original are marked by a tendency to literary elaboration, and (5) that, therefore, a comparison of the simpler forms of the European - Asiatic tradition with such simple flood-stories as are found among the peoples of the Pacific Islands and the Indians of America may well be instructive. Moreover, the fact that nearly all deluge stories have been thought to be derived from either from a unique geological occurrence or from one literary original, even though both these contentions are now discredited, makes desirable a representative selection of materials.

To make a complete comparative study of the content and form of these stories would carry me beyond the proper limits of a Master

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of Arts thesis. Therefore, I have chosen, in the main, to limit my study to two of the most important features of content and form, - the reason assigned for the flood and the influence of this reason upon the conception and development of action and character. To facilitate this study, I have employed two terms in a technical way throughout the paper. By <u>motive</u> I mean the reason assigned in the given story itself for the flood; by <u>motivation</u> I mean the development of action and character in conformity with an underlying idea or mood. Between motive and motivation several relations are possible.

1) the motive may be the underlying idea and may control the development of action and character, - as in the Ovidian account.

2) The motive may be the underlying idea but may control only partially the action and characters, - as in the Deucalion myth of Apollodorus.

3) The motive may be entirely divorced from the development of action and character, as in the Polynesian account.

4) The legend may contain no motive at all, - as in the Algonquin tradition.

5) There may be motive but no motivation.

6) There may be neither motive nor motivation.

There are no examples of (5) and (6) in these stories.

If the legend contains no motive, it lacks unity of conception. The recorder accepts the fact that there was a catastrophe but he does not attempt to explain its occurrence. Such an account

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is likely to be brief and unrealistic. If the legend has a motive but is not influenced by it, there is still an absence of unity in the conception. A higher development in literary expression has been reached when the motive is identical with the underlying idea although it only partially determines the action. But if the motive wholly directs the action, there is a unity of conception which binds the reason and the subsequent events into a harmonious whole. The more definite and concrete the conception, the more vivid and realistic will be the portrayal of the characters and scenes, until the purpose of the first recorders of the tradition is almost lost in the desire to entertain an audience with an imaginatively developed story. Thus at one extreme of our materials we have such simple synoptic narratives as the Sumerian, Satapatha Brahmanic, Algonquin, and Polynesian; at the other extreme, such highly elaborated dramatic epic compositions as the Gilgamesh, the Mahabharata, the Puranic, the Ovidian, and the Chester Versions.

I am not primarily concerned with the theories and facts of origin. But these can not be wholly ignored if one wishes to understand the myths and legends. In the first place, it is necessary to discover the reasons for the similarities and differences of the accounts. In a study of motivation it is not only interesting but also necessary to discover why a people would wish to adopt some parts of a tradition and omit others. There are many parallels between the Priestly Codex and the Gilgamesh Epic. But the motives are very differently conceived.

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All polytheistic coloring is lacking in the tradition of the Hebrews. The Flood Traditions, indeed, are so intimately connected with the religious views of the different peoples and with their outlook upon life, that one must understand something of cultural differences if he would understand these traditions. If the reader wishes to learn more of the origins of the flood than I have considered it necessary to discuss, he should consult the works of Sir James Frazer, L. W. King, Jastrow, Brinton, Suess, Von Ihering, Usener, and Worcester, all of which will be found in the Bibliography appended to the essay.

The study has not been without difficulties. Some of the important works upon Deluge Stories were impossible to obtain. Not until the thesis was almost completed was Frazer's excellent and extensive collection of Flood Legends received at the Library. In the main, however, the available translations and commentaries that I have used are explicit and scholarly in every respect. The chief exceptions to this statement are, of course, the Leeward Island Story, and, in a less degree, the Algonquin.

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Chapter I

The Babylonian Legends.

We possess several accounts of the Babylonian story of the deluge. The oldest version was found by Arno Poebel among the tablets from Nippur. Unfortunately, only the lower portion of the tablet is preserved. The significant features of this version are first, that it was written in Sumerian, a fact which would indicate greater antiquity than the account in the Gilgamesh Epic, which is in Semitic or Akkadian; and secondly, that it occurs as part of a continuous narrative, which begins with the creation story, passes on to the deluge story, and embodies chronological lists which furnish the names and lengths of the reigns of the early rulers and dynasties.[1]

Leonard King has made such a careful comparison of this version with those of the Gilgamesh Epic and the Berossian accounts that I shall give his conclusions.[2]

The points of general resemblance presented by the narrative to those in the Gilgamesh Epic are sufficiently close in themselves to show that we are dealing with a Sumerian version of that story and this conclusion is further supported (a) by the occurrence throughout the text of the attested Sumerian equivalent of the Semitic word, employed in the Babylonian versions, for the 'Flood' or 'Deluge', and (b) by the use precisely of the same term for the hero's

1 Jastrow, "Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions" page 335.
2 "The Legends of Babylon and Egypt."

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great boat, which is already familiar from an early Babylonian version.

The close correspondence in language between portions of the Sumerian Legend and the Gilgamesh Epic suggest that one version was ultimately derived from the other, and this conclusion is confirmed (a) by the identity in meaning of the Sumerian and Babylonian names for the Deluge hero, which are actually found equated in a late explanatory text and, (b) by small points of difference in the Babylonian form of the story which correspond to later political and religious developments, and suggest the work of Semitic redactors.

The motive which ~~he~~ King assigns for man's creation or for his rescue from the floods is that the gods may have worshippers. Therefore, we may infer that before the flood, men did not worship the gods and so they must be destroyed. The story seems to be partially motivated by this cause. Ziusudu is rescued because he is a pious priest. "In humility he prostrates himself in reverence, daily he stands in attendance." His action throughout is in harmony with the sin motive. King infers that Ziusudu was warned in a dream but because of his closeness to the gods, he was able to interpret the warning. When the waters have been assuaged, he sacrifices to the gods. However, mixed with the sin motive, there is perhaps a desire to teach the advisability of employing the incantation of "by the name of Heaven and Earth." This idea, too, motivates the action of the hero in his plea for divine aid. King concludes his discussion with the

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following statement, "It seems improbable that the lines in question formed part of the original myth; they may have been inserted to weld the myth more closely to the magic. Both incantation and epic may have originally existed independently and, if so, their combination would have been suggested by their contents. For while the former is addressed to Anu and Enlil, in the latter these same gods play the dominant parts: they are the two chief creators, it is they who send the Flood, and it is their anger that must be appeased. If once combined, the further step of making the incantation the actual means by which Ziusudu achieved his own rescue and immortality would be a natural development. It may be added that the words would have been an equally appropriate addition if the incantation had not existed independently, but had been suggested by, and developed from the myth." [1]

It seems to me, after a study of the version, very probable that the myth and incantation existed independently. The epic is complete without the incantation. As the epic developed, the incantation which bore a certain similarity to it, was added to the flood story. The idea of immortality was undoubtedly added by later writers who realized the injustice of awarding to all men the same fate. The reconciliation of the gods was a later development by the priests who wished to bring the gods into a system. Therefore, it is likewise possible that the incantation was not a

1 Legends of Babylon and Egypt, page 87-88.

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part of the original myth.

One of the accounts preserved to us, was copied by Berosus, a priest in Babylon (about 280 B.C.), as he said, from the cuneiform chronicles preserved in the temple of Bel. Berosus probably obtained material for his account from the Sumerian version because his array of the first nine antedeluvian kings corresponds to the rulers in this version. This account is brief with little detail and may, perhaps, be a summary of the story in the cuneiform chronicles. The history of Berosus reaches us through late Greek writers. The principal translators are Alexander, called "Polyhistor", (first century B. C.) and Apollodorus (about 140 B. C.) I have chosen for analysis the translation by Polyhistor.[1]

A much fuller account of the deluge, comes to us from the library gathered by Ashurbanapal. According to Jastrow, its Babylonian origin is indicated by internal evidence and its great antiquity is attested by its incorporation into the Epic of Gilgamesh.[2] This cuneiform account of the flood, discovered by George Smith in 1872 among the brick tablets of the British Museum, is the eleventh episode of the adventures of the favorite hero of the Babylonians.

1 Lenormant. "Beginnings of History, pages 387-389.
Accounts, taken from Polyhistor's translation, are found in
"The Ancient East", Vol. III pages 48-49 by Zimmern
"The Sacred Annals", Vol. L page 275 by George Smith.
"Genesis in the Light of Modern Knowledge" pages 377-380 by Worcester
"New Commentary on Genesis", Vol. I, page 238-239 by Delitzsch

2 Jastrow, "Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions", page 323

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Just as with other national heroes, many myths and traditions with which he had nothing to do originally, have been attached to him. Ishtar, the goddess of vegetation, wooes Gilgamesh but is rejected. In revenge she smites Engidu, the friend and companion of Gilgamesh, with a deadly disease. Gilgamesh, too, seems to have been stricken with a disease very much like leprosy. To find the secret of immortality, he begins a series of wanderings in search of a remote ancestor, who had been taken to live with the gods. At last, Gilgamesh reaches the Island of the Blessed only to receive the sad answer that death is the inexorable law imposed by the gods. Gilgamesh then asks Utnapishtim, who appears to be human how he escaped this universal destiny. In reply, Utnapishtim tells him the story of the great Deluge. I have chosen for study the translation by Professor Jastrow.[1]

The episode in the Gilgamesh Epic seems to be the same as that in the account of Berosus for the chief actors are identical and the narrative follows the same general course, The Gilgamesh Epic may be a continuation of the Berosian account. Perhaps the deluge story was at first independent but that as people told the adventures of their hero and added more and more independent legends to the Gilgamesh Epic, they added the account of the deluge.

1 Jastrow, "Hebrew and Babylonian Tradition" pages 325-334.
Similar accounts are to be found in "The Chaldean Account of Genesis" by George Smith. "The Old Testament" by T. G. Pinches.
"Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments" by Sayce.
"The Beginnings of History" by Lenormant.
"Genesis in the Light of Modern Knowledge" by Worcester.

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Their hero was ill but, like themselves, he wished to have immortality. Therefore, he set out to find the only man to whom the gift of immortality had been given. This man was the hero of the deluge story, Xisuthros, or as they called him, Utnapishtim, or, as in one version, Atrakhasis, meaning "the very wise one." This name is identical with that of the hero in the Berosian account for Xisuthros is merely the inverted form of Atrahkasis = Khasis-atra.

The only suggestion that we have of motive in the story itself is the destruction of the city of Shuruppak,"a city that lies on the Euphrates." But if we accept the translation of the Assyriologists, of the "old" instead of the "corrupt" city, we have no reason why the gods of the city should wish its destruction nor why the great gods should bring about the catastrophe. Probably the gods of the cities were offended because the inhabitants had neglected their altars. The description of the characters and of their actions suggests an attempt to exalt Ea, one of the water gods, above his rival Enlil, also a water god. Later other motives were added; the attempt to explain why there was never another great flood, a vague idea of the necessity of punishing sin, and the beginning of a hope in immortality.

The poem clearly shows rivalry between Ea, the god of the waters and Enlil, or Bel, the god of the upper atmosphere and streams. There is a conflict of purposes. Enlil determined to destroy all mankind for when he saw that Utnapishtim had survived the destruction, he said, "No man was to survive the destruction." Ea, however, determined to save his favorite. There is then, rivalry between the two, -

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Ea, the friend and savior of mankind and Enlil, the enemy and destroyer. Ea is represented as the stronger, the more powerful, and the more beneficent god. Ea reprimands Enlil, "why didst thou without reflection bring on a cyclone?" Enlil must submit to the wishes of Ea. He must not only allow a man to live but also, in response to the appeals of Ea, he even blesses the survivor and gives him immortality. Therefore, it becomes apparent that there is a very definite attempt to exalt Ea, the friend of humanity, above Enlil, the destroyer. Although the poem gives every evidence of such a motive yet it suggests no reasons for the assertion of the superiority of the one over the other. However, we know that both were gods of the waters, and were conceived very differently. Enlil was pictured as a rushing deluge that brings woe to mankind, a torrent sweeping away buttresses and dikes, an onrushing storm which none can oppose. Ea, the guardian spirit of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, was pictured as half-man, half-fish, the god of the waters flowing under the earth, which feed the stream and through streams and canals irrigate the fields. The waters personified by Ea present a striking contrast to the waters that on the command of Enlil came from on high, causing the rivers to overflow their banks, bursting the dams, flooding the fields, and working havoc among the habitations of mankind.

In addition to this conception of the gods as rivals in the dominion of the waters, the story suggests the rivalry that existed at one time between the cities of Nippur, over which Enlil

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presided and of Eridu, of which Ea was lord. At the same time, the reconciliation of Ea and Enlil indicates the combination of the two cults, - a detail probably added at a later time by priests in their efforts to systematize the relationship between the deities worshipped in the important centers. Just as in the development of the idea of the pantheon in the association of Anu with Enlil, there is an endeavor to bring the cults of Uruk and Nippur into relationship with each other, so in the reconciliation of Enlil with Ea, there is reflected the addition of the Eridu deity to those worshipped in Nippur and Uruk. All three were delocalized and yet through the efforts of the priests, were converted into a symbol of the three divisions of the universe, - heavens, earth, and water. Thus, although details were added later in the story, certain motives are evident. The account of Berossus does not give the scene between Ea and Enlil but this account is brief and its monotheistic coloring suggests the influence of later Christian translators.

There is evidently an aetiological motive in the attempt to explain why the gods never sent another deluge. People would naturally wonder why such a catastrophe had not happened again and fear that such a calamity would befall the human race at another time. Ea is represented as pleading with the warrior, Enlil, not to destroy everything again. Instead of bringing on a cyclone, he suggests lions, jackals, famine, and pestilence to destroy the land. Enlil does not reply but since he acquiesces in the other wishes of Ea, we are led to believe that he agreed not to send another deluge.

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Of course theories concerning the origin of the deluge have been advanced by scholars.

Professor Jastrow says, "The Deluge myth rests on the annual decay and death of nature, and portrays such an occurrence, only magnified to a universal destruction which was suggested, perhaps, by the recollection of a particularly violent rainy and stormy season, accompanied by destruction of cities and great loss of life. Before the perfection of a system of canals, which by controlling the overflow of the Tigris and Euphrates and by directing the waters through the canals into the fields, changed the annual curse into a blessing that brought about the extraordinary fertility for which the Euphrates Valley became famed, each year brought with it a deluge, at least on a miniature scale. The Deluge is, therefore, a myth of the annual change of seasons, writ in large letters, and the fact that we find deluge stories in all parts of the world wherever similar climatic conditions with the divisions into two seasons as in Babylonia exist is confirmatory of the view porposed." [1]

However, the 15th of Daisios, given by Berossus in the translation by "Polyhistor", as the date of the Deluge, would make the Deluge fall in the middle of the Assyrian month Sivan, at the beginning of July, in a season of absolute drought, just when the rivers have fallen to their lowest level. Lenormant thinks that here the translator of the account has erred. "Berossus must have written the 15th of the eighth month, translating into Greek the name of the

1 Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions

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Assyrian month, Arah-shamna; and by a mistake, Alexander Polyhistor may have made Daisios out of it, that being the eighth month in the Syro-Macedonian calendar, forgetting the difference between the beginning of this year and of the Chaldaeo-Assyrian year. Moreover, this would place the Deluge at the 15th or 17th day of a month which would bring it at the full of the moon; this phase of the orb of night being associated, in the popular belief of Egypt and Mesopotamia, with the periodic rise of the Nile, Euphrates, and Tigris Rivers."[1 and 2]

The city of Shuruppak was to be destroyed. Shuruppak, which means "ship town",[3] was probably a sea-faring city for the preparations of Utnapishtim, the taking of a rudder and of a pilot, the use of birds in finding land, seem to be those of one who understood navigation. The use of asphalt is a correct historical detail, for the heights along the Lower Euphrates are rich in bitumen.[4] Professor Von Ihering believes that the Babylonian Deluge had an historical origin." Legend does not invent at random; it always contains a gem of historical truth. The deliverance of Chasis-Adra is to my mind based on the fact that at the time when the event took place seamen actually on board their ships were saved from danger, while all others perished. The legend has chosen to represent this deliverance in the person of one typical man, Chasis-Adra. Chasis-Adra is the personification of the seafaring man, who saved his life in the great Flood.

1 Lenormant, The Beginnings of History, page 413.
2 Knobel, "Die Genesis" 2nd Ed. page 80.(Translated by Dillman, page 143.)
3 Worcester, "Genesis in the Light of Modern Knowledge," page 469.
4 Joseph Cernits, "Expedition for Technical Study in the Euphrates District."

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This is, in my opinion, the historical basis of the Babylonian account; all the rest must be credited to legend; nor is it difficult to understand how it arrived at it.

If it were the will of the gods that all life on earth should be exterminated, even the highest mountain tops had to be covered, and, in order to bring this about, the fury of the element had to continue for a week, until the dawning of the Sabbath put a stop to it. The distance from the sea to the mountain Nizir, where the ship is supposed to have landed, was more than 100 geographical miles. The superficial area in the plains alone, which the water must have covered, would not be too highly estimated at 15,000 sq. German miles; and this level would have had to be submerged several thousands of feet deep, an absolute impossibility. If, after all life had been destroyed from off the face of the earth, new life was to come forth, this could be brought about only in the manner indicated by the legend in which god Ea instructs Chasis-Adra to 'bring into the ship two of every kind, to keep alive the seed.' If the ship were not driven back into the sea by the retreating waters, it must of necessity be stranded on a mountain. If the living creatures it contained were not to be drowned in the deluge of rain which uninterruptedly poured down from the skies, the ship must of necessity have been protected by a roof. And, lastly, that the deliverance of Chasis-Adra was not due to his being accidentally aboard ship but to divine inspiration was no less dictated by popular religious be-

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lief.[1]

Professor Suess asserts that the Deluge was caused principally by a great sea-wave driven up from the Persian Gulf by the combined force of an earthquake and of a typhoon.[2] This theory, however, according to Sir James Frazer, hardly amounts to more than a plausible conjecture, because it derives such little support from the Hebrew, Babylonian, and Sumerian traditions. "It seems more likely that the catastrophe was brought about by forces which are known to act regularly every year on the Euphrates Valley, and to be quite capable of producing widespread inundations, rather than by assumed forces which, though certainly capable of causing disastrous floods, are not positively known to have ever acted on the region in question; for, apart from the supposed references in Semitic tradition, I am aware of no record of a Babylonian deluge caused either by an earthquake wave or by a typhoon."[3] This theory is upheld by Leonard King. "Thus the Babylonian, Hebrew and Greek Deluge stories resolve themselves, not into a nature myth, but into an early legend, which has a basis of historical fact in the Euphrates Valley."[4]

The theory that an unusual catastrophe in the Euphrates gave rise to the flood legends seems very probable. Among races dwelling in low-lying or well-watered districts it would be surprising if we did not find independent stories of past floods from which a few inhab-

1 Ihering, "The Evolution of the Aryan", page 173-174.
2 Suess, "The Face of the Earth."
3 Frazer, "Ancient Stories of a Great Flood," pages 262-263. Royal Anthropological Institute Journal, Vol. 46.
4 "Legends of Babylon and Egypt", page 100.

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itants of the land escaped. People would naturally seek for an explanation of the terrible catastrophe. The unseen forces that controlled the fate of men and of every thing in the universe was of course responsible. But why would the god wish to destroy men? The natural reason was that men had displeased him. It is the form that the legend assumed which is of primary interest to us, however, the motive for the flood and the effect of this motive upon the characters and actions.

The gods of the Babylonians were conceived very realistically. The story-tellers were interested in their divinities who seemed as real to them as the people whom they met everyday. Therefore, they ascribed to the gods all of the qualities of men,-anger, repentance, grief, and jealousy. The gods of the city of Shuruppak, displeased for some reason, probably neglect of their altars, induce the great gods of heaven to destroy the city. Just as the wise men of Babylon would come to-gether to discuss an important situation, so the gods hold a council in which plans are made to destroy mankind. The warrior Enlil, in keeping with his character of the god of the rushing streams which work havoc among men, is the leader in the destruction. Ea, in harmony with his character of the god of the streams which bring fertility, acts as the savior of man because he repeats the decision to his favorite. Later, in the story we find that Ea denies having spoken directly but confesses having sent a dream to Atrakhasis, who because of his wisdom, understood the oracle. It is not in harmony with the more powerful, dignified conception of Ea to believe that he was telling a falsehood to escape the anger

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of Enlil. Moreover, the name of the hero in the first part of the story is Utnapishtim and in the last part, Atrakhasis. These differences are possibly the result of the combination of two versions of the story. There is not enough of the Atrakhasis version to determine any difference in conception of the characters of the gods unless it be that in the version of Utnapishtim, Ea deliberately tells his favorite, whereas in the version of Atrakhasis, he sends a dream in which Atrakhasis because of his wisdom, interprets the oracle. The latter might be a later version since the god who comes to talk with mortals is a more anthropomorphic conception than is the one of the deity who warns in a dream.

All of the gods of heaven, in keeping with the motive, are portrayed vividly and concretely. The thunder is the roar of a god and the lightening flashes are the torches of other gods. The deities are frightened by the storm. Here are no great, calm beings incapable of suffering too. These gods, who could not calm a storm, were not considered all powerful. They had begun something which was so mighty that they could not control it. Just as anyone, unable to foresee the consequences, repents of a foolish undertaking, so Ishtar, the mother goddess, cries aloud "like one in birth throes" in her repentance. When the gods smell the sweet odor of the sacrifice, they "gather like flies around the sacrificer." Immediately, the gods are appeased by the offering. All of the blame for the destruction they place upon Enlil, whom they wish to exclude from the sacrifice. Thus, even the gods of heaven, for the purpose of exalting Ea above

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Enlil, are represented as censuring the storm-god. How quickly they forget their own parts in the affair, when they are appeased, and how readily they denounce someonelse as the sole instigator! However, Enlil comes to the scene, and in great anger for "no man was to survive the destruction." Ea soothes the angry storm-god so that Enlil forgives Utnapishtim. The warrior-god mounts the ship, touches the forehead of Utnapishtim and his wife, blesses them, and, perhaps by way of atonement, even gives them immortality. The reconciliation of Enlil to Ea is affected very easily. One would not expect the angry, aggressive Enlil to be appeased so quickly nor does it seem probable that he would give the man who had defeated his purpose of total destruction a gift which before this had been bestowed only upon gods, the gift of immortality. This reconciliation, I believe was added by later priests who wished to systematize the pantheon.

Utnapishtim is conceived realistically but he does not, like the great gods, stand out as a vivid personality. The story arose from the desire to picture the character and actions of the gods and the manner in which it is related harmonizes with the motive. Men are used only as a background for the actions of the gods. Thus, Ea's character is manifested by his kindness to man, Enlil's by his enmity. The gods, like men, are impulsive and emotional. Utnapishtim is a favorite of Ea, not because he is devout but because he is attractive to the god. Ea is such a well-known friend of man that Utnapishtim wisely decides to obey him. In detail, the construction of the ship is related. The story-makers seemed to realize that anyone who would

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construct such a ship with apparently no reason would be an object of ridicule because he says that he is afraid of being taunted by the people of the city. When he promises "to break up his house and abandon his property," he does not know the reason for Ea's advice but he is wise enough to trust the god, whom he recognizes as his friend. After Utnapishtim has designed the outline, he explains in a clear, detailed manner how he built the ship. The ship is plugged up inside and out with asphalt and pitch to make it water tight. He even relates how his workmen cheated him.

"Three sar the workmen carried away in their baskets. Beside one sar oil, which was used for the sacrifice, the boatmen secreted two sar of oil." In detail, he explains the loading of the ship.

"All that I had I loaded on her,
All that I had of silver I loaded on her,
All that I had of gold I loaded on her,
All that I have of living beings of all kind
I loaded on her."

It may be significant of the early attitude of the employer to the employee to find that even the cattle and beasts of the field are placed before the workmen. In the action preceding the flood, little is left to the imagination. We are told that he entered the ship and closed the door. The Babylonians, unlike the Hebrews, included a pilot to steer the ship. During the flood, the account is concerned with the actions of the gods and not with the inhabitants

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of the ship. This portrayal is true to the motive which is the representation of the great gods. The detailed description of Utnapishtim's preparation is in keeping with the god-story because we already know of their preparation but when we have the actions of gods and men ocurring simultaneously, the interest is in those of the deities. We do not know what happened in the ship until the abatement of the storm, when Utnapishtim opens a window and weeps, but whether from sorrow at the destruction of his neighbors or from joy in his own salvation, we are not told. After seven days spent on Mount Nisir, a name which signifies "salvation", Utnapishtim cautiously sends out birds, - a dove, a swallow, and a raven, in succession, before he ventures out of the ship. When the birds do not return, he "let all out to the four regions and brought an offering." What the sacrifice was, he does not tell Gilgamesh but it serves to appease the gods so that they sympathize with Ea for having saved him and denounce Enlil for wishing to destroy him.

The storm, too, is described realistically. People must realize what a terrific catastrophe the angry gods could send upon man. If it had not been so powerful the gods in heaven would not have been so frightened nor would the rescue of Utnapishtim have been such a manifestation of divine favor. The account does not merely state that it rained so many days but

"As morning dawned,
There arose on the firmament of heaven black clouds."

The gods marshall in all the forces of a "terrific rain-storm."

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"The Annunaki lift torches,

Illuminating the land with their sheen,

All light is changed to darkness."

The hurricane raged; six days and nights, the storm, cyclone, and hurricane continued to sweep over the land. When the seventh day approached, the hurricane and cyclone, "after having fought like warriors, ceased the combat." "The sea grew quiet, the evil storm abated, and the cyclone was restrained." Thus, the story is portrayed, as are the gods who sent it, vividly and concretely.

There is no evident ethical motive. Utnapishtim is not like Noah, saved because of his piety but either because of his wisdom which enabled him to interpret the oracle of the gods, in the Atrakhasis version, or because he was a favorite of the god, Ea, in the Utnapishtim version. However, there is a suggestion of a sin idea because Ea said to Enlil that the destruction was unjust for all who were destroyed were not guilty of any sin. There is a recognition of sin and the justice of its punishment but Ea, the just god and friend of man, disapproves of the destruction of the innocent. From this statement, we may infer that some had been destroyed who were not evil, in contrast with the destruction in the Genesis story, in which only the corrupt were punished. The flood had been ordered by the council of the gods to punish Shurippak at the request of the god of that city. But others were evidently destroyed. Enlil seems to have been the only god who knew what proportions the flood would assume. Ishtar repents when she sees the extent of the catastrophe and Ea

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pleads with the storm-god.

"On the sinner impose his sin,
On the evil-doer impose his evil,
But be merciful not to root out completely;
be considerate not to destroy altogether."

At the end of the poem, there is a motive, probably introduced late in the development of the legend, to indicate the possibility of attaining immortality. Here are the first faint beginnings of a belief in a Paradise for those who have met with divine favor. The prevailing view of life after death was that the dead continue in a conscious or semi-conscious state after this life is come to an end. The condition of the dead is not one to be envied. They are condemned to inactivity and deprived of all pleasures. Deep down in the bowels of the earth there was pictured a subterranean cave in which the dead are huddled to-gether. The place is dark, gloomy and damp, and in a poetic work it is described as a neglected and forlorn palace where dust has been allowed to gather. It is a land from which there is no return, a prison in which the dead are confined for all time. The horror that the dwelling-place of the dead inspired is illustrated by the belief that makes it also the general abode of the demons, although they were not limited to this abode.[1] It was inevitable that people should ponder over the fate of the dead and it seems only natural that as they reached a higher degree of moral development, they would come to the

1 Jastrow, "Religions in Babylonia and Assyria" pages 353-355.

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conclusion that if the gods were just, all alike could not be condemned to eternal confinement in a dark cave. The fact that Gilgamesh was seeking to find the secret of immortality shows at least the beginning of such questioning. The story is perhaps intended then to voice a vague hope of obtaining immortality. The very vagueness of the description "at the confluence of the streams" is suggestive. The writer is in the presence of a great mystery. If, however, the gods have a place reserved for the favored ones, there is a beginning of a revulsion against the primitive ideas of life after death.

The account of Berosus, from its monotheistic, pious character has evidently been colored by the later priests who translated it because the characteristics of a primitive story are missing. What the character of the original inscriptions was, we can not determine since these have not been preserved. Therefore, a full analysis of the account seems worthless. The motive in the story is not apparent. The man who is saved is told "to pray that good may come of it to men" and when he is translated to heaven, he tells his friends to be pious. From this emphasis upon piety, one might assume that the flood was the result of impiety. Moreover, Xisuthros tells his friends that he was given immortality because of his piety. Just as the dry, matter-of-fact prose account gives no reason for the flood, so it does not give any realistic, definite description of the god, of those rescued, or of the flood. The priest seems interested only in recording the important fact that

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there was a great flood and so, he begins with the date, a detail not mentioned in the vivid, "gossippy" account of the great gods.

We are told that Cronos or Ea, warned Xisuthros in a dream. This, of course, corresponds to the warning in the Atrakhasi s version. But in strong contrast with the polytheistic coloring of the Epic, Cronos is the only god mentioned. We receive no definite impression of Ea, only that of a voice. Xisuthros is taken into the god's confidence, when he is told to build the ark. He is commanded to take the sacred writings to Sippara. Perhaps, there is an aetiological motive here to explain the location of the books, which were found at Sippara. The sacred books, they thought, were in existence before the flood but how did it happen that they were preserved in such a catastrophe? Why at a god's command, they were buried so that they remained unharmed during the deluge. In this account, there is perhaps the motive, which was in the Epic, to show the possibility of obtaining immortality but the pilot and the daughter of Xisuthros are added to the immortal company. The disappearance is even more mysterious for no explanation is offered, only that "at this moment he disappeared with those who bore him company." In the Gilgamesh account, we are not told what happened to the pilot or the workmen but in this version, those who remained were told that because of piety, Xisuthros was taken to dwell with the gods. They were told to be pious too; from this statement, they might easily infer if they were to be faithful they would be similarly rewarded. Thus, the pious character of Xisuthros, who is

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represented not as an interesting, live human being but as any one who possessed certain moral qualities; the abstract, unrealistic account of the action in which the main interest is to point a moral; and the vague, sophisticated conception of the god are in harmony with the sin motive. However, the moral is only suggested and not definitely stated as it is in Genesis. Of course, it might have been that the Hebrews borrowed this motive from the Babylonian account but I think that it is much more probable that the Berosian account was influenced by the Hebrews because the Babylonians believed in many gods whereas the Hebrews had only one and this account is strictly monotheistic. Moreover, the translations that we have of the Berosian account reach us only through late Greek writers, who were familiar with the stories of Genesis.

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Chapter II

The Hebrew Traditions.

There are many striking resemblances between the Babylonian and the Hebrew legends of the deluge. In both, the flood was brought on by a divine power for the destruction of man, although the destruction in the Hebrew account is of the world whereas that of the Babylonian is of a single city; one man is instructed by a god to save himself, his family, and the animals; the dimensions of the ship, although differently estimated, are recorded; and the flood comes seven days after the warning. The grounding of the Babylonian ship on a mountain, the opening of the door, the exit from the ark, the sacrifice of which the gods partake find direct counterparts in the Hebrew story. Although the Hebrew account, especially the contribution of the Priestly Writer, has many resemblances to the story in the Epic of Gilgamesh, yet the entire story of Genesis could not have been derived from this source. There are certain features, such as the reckoning of time in days and months and the landing of the ship in Armenia which agree more closely with the tradition handed down by Berosus. The sin motive and the ethical character of the story are similar to those in the Sumerian version.

The similarity of the Hebrew and Babylonian legends must be the result of one of three things: the adoption of the story by the Babylonians from the Hebrews; the adoption of the tradition by the Hebrews from the Babylonians; or the possession of a common source.

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The first hypothesis receives little support. The Babylonians, so far as we know, had a deluge tradition long before the Hebrews. The Gilgamesh Epic dates from 2000 B. C. while the older of the writers of Genesis, the Jehovist, lived not earlier than 900 B. C. Moreover, it may be ascertained by a critical study of early Biblical history that the most ancient Israelite tradition knows nothing whatever of a deluge, but represents the development of mankind as proceeding continuously from the creation, without any such interruption as the flood. "The Noah of this stratum of tradition is not the hero of the Deluge, but the first man who planted a vineyard. That the most ancient Israelite tradition that we can trace is silent concerning the Flood is a fact that in itself makes it seem highly probable that the Deluge legend was not indigenous in Israel.' The legend was indigenous in Babylonia and transplanted to Palestine." [1] Worcester states that, "All indications point to a gradual infiltration of Babylonian myths and traditions into Israelitish soil in very early times, and to their adoption first by the people, rather than to a direct borrowing by the sacred writers in comparatively late times." [2] Leonard King arrives at the conclusion "that the legends have a basis of historical fact in the Euphrates Valley. It is only in hilly countries, such as Palestine, where for the great part of the year water is scarce,that we are forced to deduce borrowing." [3]

1 Zimmern... "The Ancient East", Vol. III, page 56-58.
2 Worcester, "Genesis in the Light of Modern Knowledge", page 406.
3 King, "Legends of Babylon and Egypt", page 100. Edited in 1918.

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The Tel-el-Amarna tablets, discovered in 1888, written in the fifteenth century B. C. in the Babylonian cuneiform characters, prove conclusively that the language of Babylon was used as a means of communication in Canaan at that early date.

Dillman, however, thinks that this theory is false. "It is inconceivable that the Hebrews should have appropriated from their enemies, the Babylonians, a local legend originally quite foreign to them and steeped in the silliest polytheism.[1]" Some of the Biblical scholars support the third hypothesis. Jastrow says, "Recognizing unreservedly the common origin of the Babylonian and Biblical traditions of the Deluge, the tradition gives rise among both Babylonians and Hebrews to various versions, differing from one another in details."[2] Von Ihering thinks that "the Jews, on their separation from the mother nation carried this idea away with them."[3] Lenormant assumes that "We have manifestly two parallel streams issuing from an identical source."[4]

Although the Hebrew scholars do not agree upon the source of the Hebrew tradition, yet they are almost unanimous in their assertion that Genesis is composed of two separate and distinct stories, one the product of a sacerdotal writer in the period of the Exile, the other the "Jahvist" writer of monarchial times. The separation of the two documents is the result of a long, critical study by Hebrew scholars.[5]

1 Dillman, "Genesis" 1, 262.
2 Jastrow, "Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions" page 364-365. Ed. in 1913.
3 Von Ihering, "The Evolution of an Aryan", Edited in 1897.
4 Lenormant, "The Beginnings of History", page 407, Edited in 1883.
5 Hastings, "Dictionary of the Bible," page 184.
See also Lenormant, "Beginnings of History", page 406.
Delitzsch, "New Commentary on Genesis", page 250.

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The stories have been distinguished by the use of "Jahve" and of "Elohim" for God. There is also a difference in style, - that of the Jahvist is picturesque and naive and that of the Priestly Writer is the exact, colorless style of an antiquarian. Moreover, the material differences between the two accounts prove that the documents were separate and complete. The Jahvist alone relates the sending out of the birds and of the sacrifice. The Priestly Code alone gives the direction for the size and construction of the ark, the blessing of Noah, the command against the murder and the eating of blood, and the covenant with the sign of the rain-bow. In the Priestly Code one pair of every kind of animal is admitted into the ark but in the Jahvistic account one pair of the unclean but seven of the clean are saved. In the Priestly Code, the cause is not only rain but also the bursting forth of the subterranean abyss, but the Jahvistic account mentions rain only. In the Priestly Code, the water begins to abate after 150 days, the mountain tops are visible after eight months and thirteen days, and the earth is dry after a year and ten days but in the Jahvistic story the flood lasts only forty days and the water had begun to abate before that.

Genesis VI, 1-4 inclusive is considered by Biblical scholars to have been appended to the flood story.[1] Gunkel states that these verses belong to the Jahvist writer. I think that we are justified in assuming that these verses have been inserted for in no place in the remainder of the account do we find any reference to the corruption

1 Driver, "Genesis", page 82.

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of sons of God by women. Moreover, the verses have every indication of belonging to a different story in which the sons of God and daughters of men married and gave birth to a race of giants. This fragment of a myth, which has now disappeared, but which the early compilers probably had, seemed to them an explanation for the wickedness and so, was prefixed to the deluge story. Josephus considers this the wickedness for which man was punished. "This posterity by Seth continued to esteem God as the Lord of the universe and to have a entire regard to virtue, for seven generations; but in process of time they were perverted, and forsook the practices of their forefathers, and did neither pay those honors to God which were appointed them, nor had they any concern to do justice towards men. But for what degree of zeal they had formerly shown for virtue, they now showed by their actions a double degree of wickedness; whereby they made God to be their enemy; for many angels of God accompanied with women, and begat sons that proved unjust, and despisers of all that was good, on account of the confidence they had in their own strength; for the tradition is, that these men did what resembled the acts of those whom the Grecians call giants."[1]

The cause of the flood in both accounts is the wickedness of mankind. The Babylonians were interested in the actions of the gods and so they did not color their story with moral teachings: the Hebrews are concerned with the regulations of the religious life

1 Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews, Vol. 1, page 32.

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of men, so that their account is built upon a ethical foundation. The details of the corruption were perhaps so well known to the historians that they never thought of explaining the nature of that sin. The Priestly Writer in verses 2 and 5 of Chapter IX, suggests perhaps the kind of violence that filled the world. God makes a new covenant with Noah to usher in a new order in which the fear and dread of man is placed upon every beast, fowl, and fish. Before the flood, then, there must have been a period, after the expulsion from the Garden of Eden, when the animals were insolent and aggressive. In the new order, men and beasts are forbidden to murder man. Therefore, we may infer that before the flood men and beasts did commit murder and for this violence, both were punished.

The Priestly Redactor was not interested in the story for any romantic or heroic reasons but for the ethical teachings. He is interested in men and women only as they are instruments in the scheme of Providence for conveying to Israel a knowledge of God and of the religions and social institutions by which they should regulate their lives. His interest in history is sacred rather than secular and in a church rather than in a nation. The Priestly Historian is like one of the mediaeval monks who, in his cloistered cell, gleaned his knowledge of the world from time-worn manuscripts. His conception of God is that of a strong ethical being with no human attributes. There are no vivid details, as in the Babylonian story, where the anger of Enlil, the rivalry of the gods, the fear of the gods, "who crouched

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like dogs" during the storm, or "who flocked like flies around the sacrificer" are portrayed. "God looked upon the face of the earth," "God said unto Noah," and "God remembered Noah" are the descriptions of the actions of the deity. What he looked like and how he behaved during the flood, were of interest to the dry-as-dust chronicler only in the teaching that if people are wicked and disobey the laws of this powerful, controlling force, then they must be punished. This sophisticated, abstract idea of the Divinity is in strong contrast to the naive, anthropomorphic conception of the Babylonians.

The same ethical conception motivates his portrayal of Noah. Noah is not a daring, brave personality. He is simply a man who was pious and must therefore be saved by a just God from the punishment of the wicked. Here is a just, advanced conception that one who obeys all laws should be rewarded for his obedience. "Noah was a just man and perfect in his generation and Noah walked with God." The interest in him only as a moral man becomes apparent, when we consider the conception of him in the Miracle Plays. Imagination entered in and made him a forceful, realistic character. The sons and wives are of interest only as they are links in the chain of life. They are rescued because they belonged to Noah. God gives in detail the instructions for the building of the ship before he announces the reason for the building. However, Noah,-like Abraham, is such a faithful and obedient follower that he never questions the divine will. He receives minute instructions to take into the ark

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two of every kind of fowl, cattle, and creeping things. The preservation of Noah is motivated by the cause of the destruction but the animals that were saved, although they had evidently beßome corrupt and should be destroyed with the wicked men, were not selected by god for their obedience. There is, therefore, a certain incongruity of man living in close proximity to the animals, which did not fear nor dread him and which had not been chosen by God on account of their good behavior. Of course, the historian wished to explain the perpetuation of the animals but if the motive for the destruction of the animals was that they had been insolent and killed men, then those animals, which were saved, should have been the exception to the general wickedness. No provision is made for the fish, but perhaps the historian took for granted that they would swim in the flood or possibly they did not come within the anger of God for the fish that the Hebrews knew were not enemies of man. I doubt if the priest appreciated the scene of the animals two by two sedately walking into the ark. The action of Noah is motivated by the conception of his piety. In every way he shows himself obedient to God. Noah makes no tests to find out if it is safe to venture out upon the land, when the flood has abated, because he trusts God implicitly. God's blessing of the pious Noah is in harmony with the ethical interpretation.

The priest does not describe the storm but he is very careful to give the exact time because he must impress the people of Israel with the truth of the flood. The more dates and facts that he can give, the more historical the event seems. "In the six hundredth year of Noah's

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life, in the second month, the seventeenth day of the month, the same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened." In contrast with the vivid description of the storm in the Babylonian legend, we have the matter-of-fact statement that the waters prevailed fifteen cubits upward and the mountains were covered. With painstaking care, the priestly Redactor records the time of the end of the flood. "And after the end of the hundred and fifty days the waters were abated. And the ark rested in the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, upon the mountains of Ararat. And the waters decreased continually until the tenth month. In the tenth, on the first day of the month were the tops of the mountains seen. And it came to pass in the six hundredth and first year, in the first month, the first day of the month, the waters were dried up from off the earth." Probably one reason that the Priestly Writer rejoiced was that he saw the fitness of the new era of the world beginning at the first of a new year. It was "in the second month of the seven and twentieth day of the month, that the earth was dried." Thus, the Priestly Writer with his detailed, laborious statement of the facts attempts to prove that the flood was a part of the sacred history of the Hebrews.

The Deluge, which swept away almost the whole of mankind, was the occasion which the deity took to establish a covenant with the survivors with the rainbow appended as the divine seal to guarantee its genuine and irrevocable character. The Priestly Author found the subject of contracts so congenial to his careful, exact,

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lawyer-like mind that he took great pains to prove that the friendly relations of God to his people rested on a strictly legal basis, authenticated by a series of contracts into which both parties entered with due formality. In a simple society, where no laws existed for the common help and protection, covenants or formal agreements to cooperate in an undertaking must play an important part. When God wishes to cooperate with man in some new enterprise, he makes a covenant with him to prove the beginning of a new order. God made a covenant with Noah before the flood in which he guaranteed him protection in return for obedience. At the end of the flood, he makes a covenant with the whole of man-kind to establish a new period of history. The four great eras of Biblical history, those of Adam, Noah, Abraham, and Moses are all opened formally by a covenant of God and of Man.[1] With minute exactitude the new order is described. Everything is to be under the dominion of man. "And the fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every fowl of the air, upon all that moveth upon the earth, and upon all of the fishes of the sea, into your hands are they delivered. Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you, even as the green herb have I given you all things." However, God imposes a food tabu for the people are forbidden to eat "the flesh thereof, which is the blood thereof." Twice the command is given, "To be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth." With such a small population it is no wonder that God forbade both man and beast to kill man. We

1 Gunkel, "Commentary on Genesis." page 131, 241-243.

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have here the first trace of the appointment of a magistrate as the executor of the moral government of the world. God definitely appoints man, whom he has created in his own image, to be his representative on earth. But nowhere does the Priestly Writer relax his normal severity so much as when he is describing the contract made between God and Noah. With the professional zest of a lawyer, he explains the covenant. "And with every living creature that is with you, of the fowl, of the cattle, and of every beast of the earth with you, from all that go out of the ark to every beast of the earth." In the rainbow, shining in irridescent beauty among the dark storm clouds, he saw only the seal of God that he would remember his covenant.

The story has several aetiological motives although it is doubtful if the Priestly Writer realized them. The chief one is the explanation of the dominion of man over animals. People, observing conditions about them, perceived that man and animals were in conflict and that man had the upper hand. In the golden age of the Garden of Eden, Adam had dominion over the animals but there was no enmity between man and beast. Man had been forbidden to eat flesh; he had been given herbs and fruit for meat. But how did men come to eat flesh and why did they terrify the beasts? The explanation is a great change, at the end of which a new order is introduced in which man is given the privilege of killing and eating animals and in which the beasts fear man. A flood which destroyed the old order was the explanation. There are minor aetiological

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motives. The food tabu observed by the Hebrews is justified in the command of God. "But flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof shall ye not eat." The origin of the rainbow is explained. It was natural for people to connect the rainbow with a storm since it is only after a rain among the murky, disappearing clouds that the shining bow is seen. The Priestly Redactor with his zest for form, thought that the deity must sign his covenant to make the promise irrevocable. The covenant also explains why there has never been another flood.

Very different from the colorless, exact account of the Priestly writer is the poetic, naive story of the Jahvist. The Jahvist focuses his attention upon the human figures. His interest is not in the formal side of religion nor in the instruction of Israel in the regulation of conduct. With purity of outline, delicacy of touch, and warmth of coloring, he describes the chief actors in the flood. To his picturesque delineation of human life, he adds an exquisite naivety and a charming simplicity in his description of the deity. He pictures the period when there was no impassable gulf between man and his God.

The motive in the Jahvistic account is also that of the wickedness of man. No explanation is given of this wickedness, only "that every immagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually." People may have been neglecting the worship of the Lord because the first thing that Noah did after the Flood was to offer a sacrifice. God was so pleased when he smelled the sweet

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savour that he determined never to destroy man again. The way in which the Lord receives the sacrifice seems to indicate that such an offering was unusual. The Priestly Writer was perhaps so absorbed in teaching an ethical lesson that he never thought of the necessity for an explanation of that sin, - because man had sinned, he must be punished, and the Jahvistic writer was perhaps so interested in giving a picture of the God who was grieving because he had made man, that it never occurred to him to analyze that sin.

The idea of sin colors the whole story but it is not developed in the sophisticated, abstract manner of that of the Priestly Redactor. There is a simple, anthropomorphic conception of the God, who looked down from his heavens to behold the wickedness of man. This God like those of the Babylonians is subject to human emotions for "it repented the Lord that he had made man or earth and it grieved him in his heart." Moreover, God is not omniscient for he had not foreseen the wickedness of man because he repented of having made him nor had he realized that the destruction of the world was to no purpose. The Lord of this story is something more than an abstract divinity who makes known his will only by his voice or by dreams for he seems to have been with Noah in the preparations for the Flood. "And the Lord shut him in" gives a very simple picture of the deity closing the door of the ark to protect those who obey him, before he brings on the Flood to destroy those who disobey him. "And the Lord smelled a sweet savour"

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suggests again this deity with human feelings and emotions. This anthropomorphic conception of the Lord sniffing the delicate odors suggests the picture of the Babylonians gods who "flocked like flies around the sacrifice", although it is not so realistic and sordid. The Lord is pessimistic about his handiwork for he says that, "for the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth." However, he decides to make the best of things for he does not seem to think that he can improve man. Thus, he promises Noah, "I will not again curse the ground for man's sake: . . . . . Neither will I again smite any more every living thing as I have done." This promise reminds one of the plea of Ea to Enlil not to smite again every living creature.

"But Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord." "And the Lord said unto Noah,'Come thou and all thy house into the ark: for thee have I seen righteous before me in this generation." Like the Noah of the Priestly account, he is saved not because he is a favorite nor because he is clever enough to interpret the oracles of the gods, but because he was obedient to the commands of God. There is an evident but simple attempt here to point a moral that if one is righteous, no matter how great a catastrophe may be sent upon others, he will be protected. God gave very general commands to Noah for the building of the ark and the preservation of the animals, but none of the details of that building are given. We know only that "Noah did according unto all that the Lord commanded him." The Jahvistic writer, unlike the Priestly Redactor, was not inter-

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ested in specific details or in mathematical calculations. It is true that he emphasizes the distinction between the clean and unclean animals, a detail which is not found in the Priestly account, but his purpose is evident, for later at the sacrifice, he is to make the distinction between the clean and the unclean. We know only in striking contrast to the careful time calculations of the Priestly Writer, that the "rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights." With a few strokes, we see the picture of the destruction. "All in whose nostrils was the breath of life, of all that was in the dry land, died. And every living substance was destroyed which was upon the face of the ground, both man and cattle, and the creeping things, and the fowl of the heaven; and they were destroyed from the earth, and Noah only remained alive and they that were with Him in the ark". This Noa h was more realistically conceived than that of the Priestly Writer for we have a vivid picture of him sending out the birds. This detail resembles that in the account of Berosus. This Noah seems more cautious and shrewd and less willing to accept things on faith for he sent forth the birds to assure him of the condition of the earth. We have a warm, lifelike picture of Noah as he reaches for the dove and tenderly pulls her unto him into the ark. With a few deft and almost imperceptible touches, the writer creates the figure with lifelike truth. The simple, pious Noah, who builds the altar, takes the clean beasts and fowls, and offers them as burnt offerings to his Lord was regarded by the Jahvistic writer not only as one who was saved from the universal destruction because of his

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righteousness but also as an interesting,picturesque human being.

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Chapter III

The Greek Legends.

The Greeks have three distinct flood legends, - those of Ogyges, of Deucalion, and of Dardanus. Moreover, the story of Deucalion, by far the most popular, existed in many different forms in which the scene of the catastrophe and the landing place of Deucalion are shifted from one locality to another. However, neither Homer nor Hesiod make any mention of such a legend so that it is probable that the legend was elaborated on Greek soil between the period of the Hesiodic poems and 600 B.C. or during this time, the tradition was imported from abroad. Because the stories come to us from later writers, who colored them by their own ideas, and because they exist in so many different forms, it is very difficult to make a complete analysis of them.

The reason for the shifting of the scene of the catastrophe and of the landing place of Deucalion is evident. Each locality, wishing to prove its great antiquity by tracing descent from Deucalion, has adapted the story to its purpose. To some of the stories, an aetiological motive to explain the name of the town or of a religious ceremony has been added. For example, the name of Lycorea is explained by the addition to the legend, of wolves who saved the inhabitants of a city from destruction.

The first mention of a flood is by Pindar, who wrote in the fifth century B.C.; he speaks of Deucalion and Pyrrha descending [1]

1 Pindar "Olympus", IX, 64.

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from Parnassus and creating a new human race out of stones.

According to some, the first city which was founded after the great flood was Opus, situated in the fertile Locrian plain between the mountains and the Euboic Gulf. But Deucalion is reported to have dwelt at Cynus, the port of Opus, distant a few miles across the plain; and there his wife's tomb was shown to travellers down to the beginning of our era. Her husband's dust is said to have rested at Athens.[1]

It is related that an ancient city on Parnassus was overwhelmed by the rains which caused the deluge, but the inhabitants, guided by the howling of wolves, found their way to the peaks of the mountain, and when the flood had subsided, they descended and built a new city which they called Lycorea or Wolf-town in gratitude for the guidance of the wolves.[2] Lucian speaks of Deucalion's ark, with the solitary survivors of the human race, grounding on what was afterwards the site of Wolf-town while as yet all the rest of the world was submerged.[3]

The Megarians told how in Deucalion's flood, Megarus, son of Zeus, escaped by swimming to the top of Mount Gerania, being guided by the cries of some cranes, which flew over the rising waters and from which the mountains afterwards received its new name.[4]

1 Strabo, IX, 4, 2, page 425.
2 Pausanias, 6, 2.
3 Lucian. Timon, 3.
4 Pausanias, I, 40.

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According to Aristotle, writing in the fourth century B.C., the ravages of the deluge in Deucalion's time were felt in the country about Dodona and the River Achelous, for that river had changed its bed in many places. In those days the land was inhabited by the Selli, the people who were then called Greeks but are now named Hellenes.[1] In the fourth century B.C., Plato in "Timaeus" represents Solon telling an Egyptian priest of the deluge of Deucalion but the Egyptian replies that the Greeks are but children and know nothing of ancient tradition. The Egyptian assures Solon that there was no such deluge in Egypt because rain does not fall there but he admits that there are floods in certain parts of the world. He ends by telling the story of Atlantis, the island which because of an earthquake and a flood disappeared in a day.[2] In "The Laws" the Athenian stranger asks Clenias if he believes that there is any truth in the ancient traditions. When Clenias asks in what traditions, the Athenian replies, "The traditions about the many destructions of mankind which have been occasioned by deluges and diseases and of the preservation of a remnant." [3]

At a later age the Roman poet Ovid (43 B.C.-18 A.D.) wrote an elaborate description of the Greek Deluge. The labored attempt to secure fantastic effects is in striking contrast to the majestic simplicity of the accounts in Genesis.[4]

1 Aristotle, "Meteorolog"., I, 14, page 352, ed. Bekker.
2 Plato, "Timaeus," page 22, 23.
3 Plato, "The Laws", page 78, 79.
4 Ovid "Metamorphoses", I, pages 22-36 translated by Riley.

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Among the many places which claimed the honor of receiving Deucalion, Athens asserts her right to antiquity by maintaining that when the rain came down upon Lycorea, where Deucalion reigned, he fled for safety to Athens, and on his arrival founded a sanctuary of Rainy Zeus, and offered thank offerings for his escape.[1] Down to the second century of our era the local Athenian guides pointed with patriotic pride to the grave of the Greek Noah near the later and far statelier temple of the Olympian Zeus.[2] Nor was that all that Athens had to show for her share in the catastrophe. Near the great precinct overshadowed by the temple of Olympian Zeus, there was a cleft in the ground a cubit wide. Down that cleft ~~they~~ the Athenians believed that the waters of the Deluge ran away and down it every year they threw cakes of wheaten meal kneaded with honey.[3]

Another place where the Great Flood was commemorated by a ceremony was Hierapolis on the Euphrates. There down to the second century of our era, the ancient Semitic deities, chief among whom was the great Syrian goddess Astarte, were worshipped. Lucian has given a description of the sanctuary, which, he says, according to the general opinion was founded by Deucalion, in whose time the Great Flood occurs. This gives Lucian an opportunity to tell the story of the flood.[4]

Plutarch says that Deucalion let loose a dove from the ark

1 "Marmor Parium" 6 sq., in "Fragmenta Historicum Graecorum" ed. C. Muller, I, 542.
2 Pausanias I, 18, 8.
3 Pausanias I, 18, 7.
4 Lucian, "De Dea Syria" pages 50-51 translated by H.A. Strong.

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in order to judge by its flight or its return whether the storm still continued or had abated.[1]

Another city of Asia Minor which appears to have boasted of its connection with the deluge was Apamea Cibotos in Phrygia. Cibotos is the Greek word for chest or ark. On coins of the city, minted in the reigns of Severus, Macrinus, and Philip the Elder, there is a floating ark with two passengers, whose figures appear from the waist upwards; at the side of the ark two other human figures, one male and the other female, are standing; and lastly, on the top of the chest are perched two birds, one of them said to be a raven and the other a dove carrying an olive branch. As if to remove all doubt as to the identification of the legend, the name Noe, the Greek equivalent of Noah, is inscribed on the ark.[2] No doubt the two human figures represent Noah and his wife twice over, first in the ark and afterwards outside it. These coin types prove unquestionably that in the third century of our era the people of Apamea were acquainted with the Hebrew story of the deluge in the form in which it is collected in the Book of Genesis. They may easily have learned it from their Jewish fellow citizens,[3] who in the first century before our era were so numerous or so wealthy that on one occasion they contributed no less than 100 pounds weight of gold to be sent as an offering to Jerusalem.[4] Whether

1 Plutarch "De Sollertia Animalium", 13.
2 Strabo X, 6, 3, 8, 13.
3 Sir J. G. Frazer, pages 270-271 Royal Anthropological Institute Journal 46, 1916.
4 Cicero, "Pro Flaceo", 28.

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at Apamea the tradition of the Deluge was purely Jewish in origin, or whether it was grafted upon an old native legend of a great flood is a question upon which scholars are not agreed.

From this collection of the various accounts of the legend, I think that the motive for the variation, the attempt of each locality to assert its superiority over rival localities, is apparent. The motives to explain place names and ceremonies, also, become evident.

The account of Apollodorus [1] (140 B.C.) the first detailed Greek flood legend, is so brief that it is difficult to analyze it and compare it with the other accounts of the flood. There is no motive for the destruction. However, because the period of the destruction is that of the Brazen Age, a period when men had fallen into wickedness, the punishment of sin is a very possible cause. An aetiological motive is added to explain the name of the Greek people. In several ways, the account shows the familiarity of its author with the Genesis story.

Zeus wished to destroy the men of the Bronze Age, whom, although this account does not mention it, we know from other sources, to have fallen from the innocence and piety of the Golden Age into a state of corruption and disobedience. Here we find a striking parallel to the fall of man in Genesis. In the Garden

1 Apollodorus, "Bibliotheca", I, 7, 2.

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of Eden and in the Golden Age, man lived in a period of purity and happiness. Everything was miraculously provided for him; instead of tilling the ground and weaving clothing, he was free to gaze upon the beauties of the newly created world. But sin came into this happy world so that the earth was filled with corruption and must be destroyed. The imaginative mind is fond of building Utopias in which life will be ideal. Moreover, the mind has a tendency to glorify the past and to idealize the future in its reaction against the imperfection of the present. Therefore, the Golden Age in the past and Heaven in the future are conceived. The present in which men are not ideal and living conditions are not perfect is explained by the gradual falling away from the period of innocence and happiness. Because all details are omitted in the story, it is impossible to trace the effect of the motive on the characters. I do not know whether Apollodorus was interested only in the recording of the legend to explain the ancestry of the Greeks and not in the moral purpose of the story or whether he did not conceive the ethical motive clearly. It would almost seem as if the latter were true because the account is not motivated by sin. Deucalion was not saved because he was the exception in a wicked age but because his father, Prometheus, warned him just as Ea warned Xisuthros. Some men escaped by fleeing to the high mountains but if the sin idea had been so clearly conceived that it motivated the action, only the righteous would have been preserved and that by the will of

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the god and not by their ability to foresee the catastrophe in time to escape it. Moreover, the survival of these few men does not harmonize with the end of the story, for there the impression is given that Deucalion and Pyrrha, were the only ones who were not destroyed, and that from them, the earth was repopulated. Neither does the flood cover the whole world as in the Genesis story where God perceived that the earth was filled with violence so that he sent a flood to destroy all living things upon the earth. However, to the Greeks, the whole world was probably Greece.

The pious note, which is introduced by the sacrifice, might indicate that Deucalion was preserved because he was obedient to the gods, if it were not for the fact that it has such evident parallels in the Babylonian and Genesis stories. After the flood has subsided, the ark is grounded upon Parnassus, just as the ship of Gilgamesh stood still upon Mount Nizir and that of Noah rested upon the mountains of Ararat. Zeus, who before has paid no attention to the hero, now like the gods of the Babylonians and of the Hebrews, is so pleased that he shows his pleasure in a tangible way to the survivor. Utnapishtim was given immortality, Noah was promised that there would never be another flood, and Deucalion was allowed to make any wish. There is an aetiological motive in the fulfillment of the wish for descendants because "that is why in Greek people are called 'laoi' from 'laas', a stone.' " Another trace of the Hebrew legend is to be found in the word used to denote the place of refuge, a chest or an ark. Thus, the legend seems to have been

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a record of an event which was actually supposed to have occurred. There is a motive, which can be inferred, but it does not motivate the characters nor the action. The one exception, the sacrifice, which might have been motivated by the conception of sin, is so much like the Hebrew account, that, together with other similarities, ~~we are led~~ it leads us to believe that the recorder was influenced by the legend of Genesis.

The deluge legend by Lucian who wrote in the middle of the second century B.C. shows even more strongly Babylonian and Hebraic influences. The motive of the destruction is the sin of man-kind but it is elaborated far beyond the simple statement in Genesis. "The men were rebellious, and wilful, and performed unholy deeds, disregarding the sanctity of oaths and hospitality, and behaving cruelly to suppliants; and it was for these misdeeds the great destruction fell upon them." The hero, in keeping with the sin motive, alone was saved because of his wisdom and piety. But except in the character of the survivor, the motivation of the story is not carried out, perhaps because the story is told briefly so that all details are omitted. However, we find a reason (which is omitted in all other acoounts,) for the friendship of the animals and man in the ark. Evidently, the narrator began to picture vividly the conditions and of course, he would wonder why the beasts had not harmed men. He would have been disquieted if he had been placed in a room with lions, tigers,

1 Lucian, "De Dea Syria", translated by H. A. Strong, page 50.

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and rattle snakes! The reason was obvious; Zeus himself ordained it. This version, which has been connected with the account of Deucalion, shows every evidence of its eastern origin. The name given to the hero is "Deukalion or Sisythus". Sisythus is evidently a corruption of Xisuthros. The sin motive is conceived like that of the Hebrews. Just as in the Priestly Code the flood was caused not only by rain but also by "the fountains of the deep" so in this legend, "the earth discharged a vast volume of water." Just as Noah and his family were the only ones saved from the flood, so Deukalion and his family are the only ones who survive. Here, as in the Babylonian and Hebrew traditions, the beasts are taken into the ark. This account differs from the Greek legend of Deucalion, in which only Deucalion and Pyrrha were saved, and mankind was subsequently created miraculously and in which the means of accounting for the preservation of animals were omitted. Therefore, it is obvious that this version, although associated by Lucian's Greek informants with Deucalion has little resemblance to the Greek legend but has much in common with the Babylonian and Biblical accounts.

The story by Ovid[1] (43 B.C. - 18 A.D.), although fantastic and rhetorical, is a clearer and more complete account of the Greeks tradition than any of the other legends. The main motive for the destruction is sin. The cause was conceived so clearly that it motivates the action of the story. However, as in the case of the other legends, the motive and its effect upon the story resembles

1 Ovid "Metamorphoses" Vol. I

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that of the Hebrew. However, an aetiological motive, not found in Genesis, is added to account for certain characteristics of the Greek people.

The conception of the sin of mankind motivates the portrayal of the character and action of Jupiter. The great god, beholding the actions of men, from his loftiest heights, groans aloud. He conceives such "vast wrath" that he immediately calls a council of the gods. "Three or four times he shook the awful locks of his head, with which he makes the Earth, the Sea, and the Stars to tremble." With "indignant lips" he boldly and angrily denounces the impious race of men. " 'Twere an endless task to enumerate how great an amount of guilt was everywhere discovered." The other gods shout their assent aloud and with ardent zeal, they demand vengeance. The men, in harmony with the sin motive, were "despisers of the Gods above, and most greedy of ruthless slaughter and full of violence." It was inevitable that the men should be impious for they had sprung from the blood of giants, who had been killed by Jupiter, when they aspired to the sovereignty of heaven. Therefore, Jupiter thinks that by destroying them, he can create a new race who will be obedient to the gods. The other gods do not immediately acquiesce to the plan of destruction for they fear that the new generation will not be better and above all, they are afraid that they will have no worshippers. This hesitation intensifies the conception of the

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immensity of the sin, for they are easily persuaded, even when it means loss of worshippers to them, that the world must be destroyed. Jupiter has proof of the corruption. One reason that he is incensed is that he was greatly insulted by Lycaon, kind of Arcadia. But he has found that punishment of this man is not sufficient because "wherever the earth extends, the savage Erinnys reign."

The vivid account is in accordance with the strong, realistic, conception of sin. In the account of Apollodorus, some men escaped; but Zeus, so incensed against the terrible corruption in the land, destroyed everything. It is interesting to note that this is the only tradition which ~~explains the~~ affords an explanation for destruction by water instead of by fire. Jupiter, in his wrath, not only sent heavy rains but he also secured the help of Neptune. The use of both the rain and the sea has its parallel in the account of the Priestly Redactor. The flood is terrific. "If any house remained, and, not thrown down was able to resist ruin so vast, yet the waves, rising aloft, covered the roof of that house, and the towers tottered, overwhelmed beneath the stream." In vain, the wicked men attempt to escape. "One man takes possession of a hill, another sits in a curved boat, and plies the oars where he had lately ploughed." The immensity of the world's impiety so overcomes Jupiter that he has no regard for the animals. No provision was made at the time of the deluge for their continuation.

We know nothing of the warning, the construction, or the entrance into the ark. The sin idea so completely motivates the

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action that Deucalion and Pyrrha were of interest only because they were "both guiltless and both worshippers of the Gods." The piety is exemplified when after the flood has been assuaged, "they adored the Corycian Nymphs, and the deities of the mountains, and the prophetic Themis." Zeus proves that he can be as kind to those who obey him as he can be cruel to those who disobey him. Just as he saved Deucalion because he was righteous, at the end of the flood, he sends him descendants.

The peopling of the earth by the casting of the stones, in fulfillment of the commands of the Oracle, is different from that of the Babylonian and Hebrew legends. There is perhaps an aetiological motive for this miraculous creation for the poet says, "Thence are we a hardy generation, and able to endure fatigue, and we give proofs from what original we are sprung." This may have been the poet's own explanation of the strange creation just as Apollodorus attempted to account for it by the name of the Greek peoples. This version also has some striking parallels in the Hebrew and Babylonian accounts. As in Genesis, mankind is destroyed because of its wickedness. One man is saved because of his piety. Deucalion, like Noah and Utnapishtim, is grounded on a lofty mountain when the flood subsides. Moreover, he also greatly pleases the God by a sacrifice, However, Usener, who devoted himself primarily to the flood traditions of Greece, although unable to discover evidences of a flood tradition in Greek literature earlier than about 600 B.C., regards the legend

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as indigenous to Greece.[1] He explains the difficulty of its late appearance by supposing that it was long cherished by the common people in out-of-the way places, before it became a theme of literature. This, however, does not seem very probable because a tradition which was so popular at a later time, if in existence before 600 B.C., would probably have been known by Homer or Hesiod. Usener advances the theory that Deucalion is a god who has sunk to the rank of a hero only to be exalted again among the gods. He begins his argument with an elaborate study of the name of Deucalion (Δευκαλίων) The first portion of the word he assumes to be Δεύς , the Spartan and Boeotian form of Ζεύς , and the second portion, Καλος , an old Greek dimunitive corresponding to the Latin "Culus". This, he gets the name "little Zeus." Roscher suggests a simpler explanation, in which Deucalion is derived from δεύω , moisten, and Pyrrha, from Κύρρος, the red earth.[2] According to this view, Deucalion was the personification of water and Pyrrha of the earth, and from their union came the Hellenes. However, this explanation conflicts with the story, in which men do not spring from this union but from stones.

Usener regards this story similar to those of Perseus, Telephos, Oedipus and Dionysos. Worcester criticises this hypothesis adversely because it fails to account for Pyrrha, because it does not consider the fact that Perseus, Telephos, Dionysos, and Oedipus were young childred while Deucalion is an old man, and because it says nothing

1 "Die Sintfluthsagen, untersucht von Hermann Usener" Bonn, 1899.
2 Roscher's Lexicon

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of the translation of Deucalion.[1] The hypothesis receives some support in the Babylonian stories in which the hero is taken to dwell with the gods, but I do not see that it has any possible foundation in the Greek legends. In none of them, is Deucalion raised to the gods.

The three cycles of Greek flood legends are distinct in characters and action. The traditions were at a later time brought to-gether and arranged in an orderly manner.[2] The legends of Ogyges and of Dardanus seem to be a record of a real catastrophe. No story in which this an interpretation of the cause of the deluge or the effects of the motive on the characters, is related. We have apparently a statement of history in which a few people survived an unusual imundation.

Ogyges, who is the survivor in the oldest legend, built and reigned over Thebes in Boeotia,[3] which according to Varro, was the oldest city in Greece having been built before the earliest of floods.[4] His connection with Boeotia in general and Thebes in particular is vouched for by the name Ogygian which was bestowed on the land,[5] on the city,[6] and on one of its gates. The Athenians, always jealous of another city's assertion to a superior antiquity, claimed the ancient Boeotian hero as a native of their country. One tradition describes Ogyges as a king of Attica[7] and another represents him as the founder

1 Worcester, "Genesis in the Light of Modern Knowledge" page 450-453.
2 Scholiast on Plato, "Timaeus" page 22.
3 Pausanias IX, 5, 1.
4 Varro, "Rerum Rusticarum" III, 1.
5 Strabo, IX, 2, 18.
6 Pausanias IX, 5, 1.
7 Scholiast on Plato, "Timaeus" page 22.

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and king of Eleusis.[1] Nonnus (A.D. 300) rhetorically describes how the whole earth was submerged by the Deluge, even the lofty peaks of Thessaly were covered, and the snowy top of Parnassus itself was lashed by the snowy billows.[2] The Roman scholar, Varro, relates that the Boeotian Thebes was built about 2,100 years before the time when he was writing, which was in or about the year 36 B.C.; and as the Deluge, according to him took place in the life time of Ogyges, but after he had founded Thebes, the flood ocurred soon after the year 2136 B.C.[3] Julius Africanus, a Christian author who drew up a chronicle of the world from the creation down to the year 221 A.D., affirms that the deluge happened just 1,020 years before the first Olympiad, from which the Greeks dated their exact reckoning; and as the first Olympiad fell in the year 776 B.C., we arrive at the year 1796 B.C. as the date to which the Christian Chronicler referred the date of the Ogygian flood. It happened, he tells us, in the reign of Phoroneus, king of Argos. He adds further that Ogyges was a contemporary of Moses and flourished about the time when that great prophet led the children of Israel out of Egypt; and he clinches his chain of evidence by observing that at a time when God was visiting the land of Egypt with plagues, it was natural that distant parts of the earth should feel the divine anger, and in particular it was right that Attica should smart beneath the rod, since according to

1 Africanus, quoted by Eusebius, "Praeparatio Evangelica" X, 10, 7.
2 Nonnus, "Dionysius" III, 206-8
3 Varro "Rerum Rusticarum", III, 1, 3.

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to some people, the Athenians were colonists from Egypt and shared the guilt of the mother country.[1]

If Ogyges was originally a Boeotian rather than an Attic hero, the story of the deluge may well have been suggested by the changes of the Copaic Lake which formerly occupied a large part of Central Boeotia. The lake, having no outlet above ground, depended for its drainage upon subterranean passages or chasms. The Lake underwent a cycle of changes, dry in the summer and deep in the winter but frequently at any period of the year, the water of the lake has been raised above or depressed below its customary level by unusually heavy or scanty rainfall in winter or by the accidental closing or opening of the chasms.[2] Pausanias mentions a drowned city on the margin of the lake.[3] It seem probable that this legend arose from an extraordinary inundation by the Lake. No stories of the gods nor the actions of a hero clustered around it. The character of the legend supports the theory that it is a record of a fact.

The third cycle of Greek flood legends is associated with the name of Dardanus. According to one account, he first reigned as a king in Arcadia, but was driven out of the country by a great flood, which submerged the lowlands and rendered them for a long time unfit for cultivation. The inhabitants retreated to the mountains, and for a while made shift to live as best they might on such food as they could procure; but at last, concluding that

1 Julius Africanus, quoted by Eusebius, "Praeparatio Evangelica" X, 10.
2 Ed. Meyer, "Geschichte des Alterhums, II, 94.
3 Pausanias IX, 24, 1.

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the land left by the water was not sufficient to support them all, they resolved to part; some of them remained in the country with Dimas, son of Dardanus, for their king; but the rest emigrated under the leadership of Dardanus to the Island of Samothrace.[1] According to a Greek tradition, the birthplace of Dardanus was Pheneus in North Arcadia.[2] Except for the Copaic area, no valley in Greece is known to have been from antiquity subject to inundations on so vast a scale and for such long periods as the valley of the Pheneus.[3] This account like that of Ogyges, makes no attempt to unite motive, setting, characters, and plot into a story. It is the statement of a local catastrophe. No interest is evinced by the recorder, in the cause of the flood. So many men are saved, - indeed, no mention is made of anyone perishing, - that the devastated land will not support them all. Therefore, they separate and one division emigrates to Samothrace. It does not contain anymore of the elements of a story than the following record.[4] "On the 31st of May 1889, during a heavy rainfall, the dam gave way and a mass of water 20 feet high swept over Johnstown at a speed of 20 miles an hour, almost completely destroying the city. The Pennsylvania railroad bridge withstood the strain, and against it the flood piled up a mass of wreckage many feet in height and several acres in area. In this confused mass many of the inhabitants were saved from drown-

1 Dionysius Halicarnasensis, "Antiquates Romanae" I, 61
2 Servius on Virgil "Aen", III, 167.
3 C. Neymann und J. Partsch, "Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland", page 252.
4 Encyclopedia Brittanica, Vol. XV.

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ing, only to be burned alive when it caught fire. Seven other towns and villages in the valley were also swept away, and the total loss of lives was 2000 or more." The legend of Deucalion is, therefore, the only one which has a motive for the destruction and which attempts to unite the story with that motive.

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Chapter IV

Sanskrit Legends.

The oldest deluge legend of the Hindus is found in the "Satapatha Brahmana", an important prose treatise on the sacred ritual. This account is believed to have been written not long before the rise of Buddhism and so, not later than the sixth century before Christ. More elaborate versions are found in the long epic poem, "Mahabharata", the nucleus of which probably dates from the fifth century before Christ, in the "Bhagavata-Purana" which dates from about 320 A.D., and in the "Matsya-Purana" which is of a very late date and in the "Agni Purana". Many Sanskrit scholars seem to agree with the conclusion of Burnouf (1801 - 1852) that the legend is of Semitic origin. Burnouf supported his theory by showing that the legend does not occur in the Vedas, that it is opposed to the periodic destructions of the world, which is a fundamental dogma of Hindu belief and that there is no other mention in Hindu mythology of the worship of a fish.

Worcester states, "It may therefore be regarded as probable that the Hindu Flood story was borrowed directly or indirectly from Babylonia."[1] The most striking similarity of the Sanskrit legend to the Babylonian is the character of the fish-god. Ea, the god who warned Utnapishtim, is pictured as half-fish and half-man, and

1 Worcester, "Genesis in the Light of Modern Knowledge" page 370.

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the god that warns Manu is in the form of a fish. Lenormant says that "Burnouf justly saw in this circumstance a mark of foreign importation and the chief indication of its Babylonian origin, for classic testimony, since confirmed by indigenous monuments, gave conclusive evidence that in the religion of Babylon the conception of ichthyomorphic gods, or gods in the form of fishes, played a more considerable part than in any other country." [1] Because the Sanskrit finds this parallel in the Babylonian story and because this point is clearly associated with the religious conceptions of Babylon but is foreign to those of India, Lenormant concludes "that the legend is a foreign importation, superimposed on, though not confounded with, the genuinely national and distinctive traditions of the people who came into this other tradition without having originated it." Ihering remarks, "All the evidence that I have produced respecting the influence of the Babylonians upon the Indians may perhaps contribute to secure a more favorable reception of his (Burnouf's) views." [2]

However, Hopkins alludes to the supposition that the legend was derived from Babylonia as an "unnecessary though admissible hypothesis, as the tale is old enough to warrant the belief in its indigenous origin." [3] He supports his statement by assuming that a passage from the "Atharva Veda" refers to the story of Manu's flood.

1 Lenormant, "The Beginnings of History," page 424.
2 Ihering, "The Evolution of an Aryan."
3 "Religions of India", 1895, page 160.

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However, neither Manu nor the flood is mentioned in this passage. The statement is that a "golden ship with golden tackle . glided down on the peak of the Himavant." [1] Bloomfield, the translator, admits that the passage has probably nothing to do with Manu's ship. Frazer states, "On the whole, there is little evidence to prove that the ancient Indian and Greek legends of a flood are derived from the corresponding Babylonian tradition." [2] He thinks that the parallel between the Babylonian and Sanskrit legends is the ingenious fancy of some scholars. He seems to assume that the difference is much greater than any similarity. Manu, the sole survivor of the flood, who had to create an offspring by miraculous means, is very different from his Babylonian counterpart who provided for the continuance of the human race by the ordinary processes of nature. He asks, however, if the contrast between the two tales may not be the difference between the worldly prudence of the Semitic mind and the dreamy ascetism of the Indian. I think it highly probable that the Hindus would not conceive of the ascetic priest as a married man. The creation of a woman by miraculous means is much more marvellous. Max Muller rejected the theory that the Sanskrit legend had been borrowed from Babylonia. [3]

Frazer rejects the supposition that the fish in the Sanskrit tradition finds a parallel in the ichthyomorphic god of the Babylonians but does not attempt to account for the fact that this is the only

1 "Sacred Books of the East", vol. 42, page 6.
2 "Folk Lore in the Old Testament" vol. 1, page 336 Macmillan, London 1919.
3 India, What Can It Teach Us? page 133.

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place in Hindu mythology in which the fish is an important symbol. The god Ea, who preserves the hero in the Babylonian legend, is an ichthyomorphic god. Alfred Jeremias has illustrated the character of the god as half-fish and half-man from the Babylonian monuments.[1] The folk have always been fond of the marvellous animal; whether it be the dragon, the serpent, the winged horse, or the coyote of the American Indian, popular fancy has revelled in attributing to the creature supernatural powers. Could it not have been that the Hindus, hearing the Babylonian tradition or an original tradition from which both the Hindu and Babylonian stories were derived, were so impressed with the ichthyomorphic character of Ea, since none of their other legends had a fish in them, that through the centuries of telling the story, they represented the god in the form of a fish? Certainly, they had a motive for introducing the fish. Could the growth of the fish have been suggested by the growth of the streams in the rainy season?

The story is simply told in the "Satapatha-Brahmana". No motive is evident for the flood. The authors of the flood are a hidden mystery. What connection the fish has with those who send the flood is unknown. The same lack of detail is the characteristic of the whole legend. Who Manu was and why the fish chose him to survive we are not told. From the account, we are unable to conjecture whether or not there were other men in the world before the flood. We know, however, that Manu was human for he had to be warned and saved by the miracu-

1 Jeremias "Oannes-Ea", in W. H. Roscher's "Ausfuhlicher Lexilcon der Griechischen und Romischen Mythologie" III, 577.

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lous aid of the fish. Moreover, he could not unaided create descendants but an offspring was mysteriously sent to him because of his sacrifices. Evidently some god had been pleased by the sacrifice, just as Zeus had been when he awarded the piety of Deucalion by mysteriously fulfilling his desire for offsprings. We are also sure from the character of the fish that he is a god, for he has the ability to foretell the future, to grow in a marvellous manner, and to preserve Manu. We are not told who the god is, however. The character of the god is consistent throughout. He reminds us of Ea, not only in his representation of a deity in the form of a fish, but also in his character as the friend and savior of man. His kindness, however, is not disinterested for he agrees to save Manu only in return for a favor. When the flood rose, the fish did not desert Manu but swam up to him, tied the rope about his horn, and led him to a place of safety. He did not leave until he had given all necessary advice to his benefactor. Although Manu is not, like Noah, preserved bacause he was righteous, yet all that we know of him is virtuous. Like Noah and Utnapishtim, he has sufficient faith in the power of the god to obey him, even though he appears before him in the form of a fish. He patiently transfers the fish, who grows as rapidly as Jack's beanstalk, to more comfortable abodes. At the cessation of the flood, he engages in worshipping and austerities and performs a paka-sacrifice. The worship is not wholly unselfish gratitude for his salvation because he wishes another favor, - that of descendants. Thus, although no motive is apparent in

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the story and although there is little detail, yet there is consistency in the action of the god and of Manu throughout the story.

A much fuller legend is found in the "Mahabharata." The flood was caused, as that of the Hebrew tradition, by the god's disire to purify the world.[1] The story is clearly motivated by this desire. There is not the moralizing tone of the Hebrew story, however, in which the corruption of man is often repeated and in which the religious conduct of man is regulated but there is a mystic, visionary atmosphere about the vague statement of "the time for the purification of the world." The fish, after he has done all that is possible for Manu, announces himself to the "the Prajapati Brahma, than whom nothing higher can be reached." His character is consistent. He gives explicit directions to Manu, just as in the "Satapatha Brahmana," he drew the ship over the waters, but in this version, unwearied, he performs his task for very many years, and as in the "Satapatha", he bids him bind the ship to the highest peak of Himavat. The name was not mentioned in the earliest version. The great Brahma, does not only reward the kindness of Manu by preserving him in the flood, but he even grants him the power to create all living beings, gods, demi-gods, men, with all worlds, and all things moving and fixed.

The character of Manu is motivated by the cause for the world's destruction. Just as Noah and Ziusudu were pious and so escaped the punishment, so Manu, son of Vivasvat, was righteous in his generation."

1 Frazer, Folk-Lore in the Old Testament, Vol I, page 185-187.

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Manu was a great sage, majestic, in lustre equal to Prajapati. In energy, fiery vigour, prosperity, and austere fervour he surpassed both his father and his grandfather. Standing with uplifted arm, on one foot, on the spacious Badari, he practised intense austere fervour. This direful exercise he performed, with his head downwards, and with unwinking eyes, for ten thousand years." Surely, one could not conceive of a man more deserving the favor of a just god. It is fitting that the fish appeared to him while he was performing his strenuous rites. Manu is filled with compassion upon hearing the plight of the poor fish so that he tends him excellently, "like a son." Always he heeds the pleas of the fish and considerately removes him from place to place so that the god gratefully says to him, "Thou hast in every way preserved me." Manu as in the "Satapatha" obediently and trustfully builds the ship and embarks upon the command of the fish. He performs a "great act of austere fervour" when the waters have been assuaged but he does not do it for a reward as he has already been given the power of creating. With Manu are seven sages (rishis) who are preserved, probably because of their wisdom and piety, although the account merely mentions them.

Just as the author, or authors, had a definite motive and consistency of characters so he delighted in giving a vivid picture of the flood. "The briny ocean seemed to dance with its waves, and thunder with its waters. Tossed by the tempests, the ship whirled like a reeling and intoxicated women. Neither the earth, nor the quarters of the world appeared; there was nothing but water, air,

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and sky." Of course, the picture of the tempe.tuous waves emphasizes the kindness of the god who towed the ship over the rough waters.

This detailed, picturesque account is very evidently a literary development of the "Satapatha Brahmana." In the "Satapatha" the fish announces the coming of a flood from which he will save Manu, if he will put him in a jar. Dramatic suspense is added in the "Mahabharata" for the fish promises only to requite the deed. It was not until the fish had finished growing that he told Manu of the coming destruction. Manu is not described in the "Satapatha" but in the "Mahabharata" he is represented as an attractive, heroic figure. His father's name is added to make the account more realistic. Not only is he a religious ascetic but a man of energy, fiery vigor, and prosperity, a hero that would appeal to the imaginations of his creators. Place names, such as the Chirini, the Ganga, and the Himavat are added for concreteness. Picturesque descriptions give a beauty and vividness that is not found in the bare, matter-of-fact statements of the "Satapatha". The "jar is as bright as a moon-beam", the fish is "lotus eyed", the "horny leviathan is lofty as a mountain", "the ocean dances with the waves and thunders with the waters", and "the ship reels like an intoxicated woman." The many similes remind one of the Homeric figures. The early, prosaic "Satapatha" is transformed by the popular fancy into an imaginative, picturesque story.

In the "Matsya Purana" the story is still more fully developed.[1] Manu knew that there would be an end of the present world because of

1 Frazer, "Folk-Lore in the Old Testament" Vol. I, page 188.

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the belief in the doctrine of the ages. "Manu, the patient son of the Sun, endowed with all god qualities" practised such intense fervour that he attained a transcendent union with the Deity. Thus like Noah, Utnapishtim, and the Manu of the "Mahabharata", his pious character is in harmony with the motive for the flood, the purification of the world. However, these were ignorant of the calamity until the god warned them, but this Manu, knowing that the world would end, asked as a boon, at the request of the god who had been pleased by his devotion of a million years, to preserve all existing things. His action seems consistent with his character. He is pious but the man who was wise enough to foresee the end of the world and to seek his preservation in the catastrophe is more sophisticated than the gentle, simple kindly Manu of the "Mahabharata". Many obeys the fish in all of his demands but we have no picture of him "treating him like a son." Manu, the wise, does not need to be told by the fish that he is a god for he recognizes in the powers of growth, a deity. He cries out in terror, "Thou art recognized under this form of a fish and thou tormentest me." The Manu of the "Mahabharata," like Noah and Utnapishtim, was warned long before the flood and was given instructions to build his own ship but the Manu in this version is awarded by a ship that has been constructed by the company of the gods. Probably this is to show their gratitude for his million years of worship. The gods show their appreciation of the goodness of Manu for he is to be the Prajapati, the lord of creatures, of this

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world, and an object of worship to the gods. Manu, "he who was skilled in duty," drew towards himself all creatures which were to be preserved in the ark, by contemplation. His action at the end of the flood is not related as nothing is said in the account of the progress and results of the flood. If the story had been developed, since the character is motivated so clearly by his piety, we should undoubtedly have a sacrifice.

In this version there are several striking similarities to the Babylonian Version which are not found in the first two accounts. If we take the translation of the Semitic Version by King, we have the command given to Utnapishtim, "Bring living seed of every kind into the ship."[1] Manu is ordered to "embark in the ship all living creatures, both those engendered from moisture and from eggs, as well as the viviparous, and plants to preserve them from calamity." "The Vedas, the Purana, with the sciences, - these shall remain with thee at the close of the "Manvantara". The preservation of the sacred literary monuments finds a parallel in the preservation of the sacred writings by Xisuthros at Sippara. The god informs him that "on the seventh day after this the three worlds shall sink beneath the ocean of the dissolution." God warns Noah in a similar manner. "For yet seven days, and I will cause it to rain upon the earth."

The story in the "Bhagavata Purana" is very similar to this account. The motive of the flood, however, is [illegible] more naive and concrete.

1 "Legends of Babylon and Egypt." page 7.

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Brahma, had, under the influence of time, been overcome by sleep at the period when the Bhurloka and the other worlds were submerged in the ocean. The strong Hayagriva committed the great crime of disturbing the sleeping god by carrying off the Vedas which had issued from his mouth. To punish the world, the Lord took the form of a fish. This insult, therefore, was the occasion for the close of the past "Kalpa".[1] The man, whom the god chooses to save from the coming destruction, is a great royal sage, called Satyaviata, who was devoted to Narayana and practised austere fervour. His character like that of the Manu in the "Mahabharata" and in the "Matsya Purana" is motivated by the cause of the destruction. He is chosen as the survivor because he is a righteous man. It is appropriate that he should show his religious fervour by subsisting on water if he is to be a flood hero. He was offering an oblation of water to the ancestral spirits when the fish appeared to him. Mercifully he tended the increasing wants of the fish and trustingly he obeyed the injunctions of the deity. The flood does not seem to have destroyed the offender but, to make a better story by exemplifying the character of Satyaviata, Hari slays Hayagriva and restores the Vedas to the god. Thus, although the story is briefly told and the elements of mysticism and religious belief color the account, yet there is the beginning of a

1 J. Muir, "Ancient Sanskrit Texts", vol I page 43.
A "kalpa" was counted a day of the great god Brahma. It was equivalent to a period of 4,320,000,000 human years. At the end of each such period the universe was supposed to collapse and to remain in a state of dissolution for a night of the same length, till the creator awoke from his sleep and created the world anew.

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unified story. The motive is clear, the character of the priest and the action of the god and of the hero are motivated by the cause of the dissolution.

The account in the "Agni Purana" is similar to that in the "Bhagavata-Purana". The beginning in which Vasishta asks Vishnu to relate "the cause of creation; in the form of a Fish in his other incarnations" is similar to the request of Gilgamesh in which he begs Utnapishtim to tell the story of the flood. Vishnu states the motive of the flood as "the destruction of the wicked and the protection of the good." Manu was preserved because he was an ardent worshipper of the god.

Thus, in all of the accounts except the version in the "Satapatha Brahmana", which is related with no detail, we are informed that the motive for the flood was the necessity of purification. The character of the survivor, a pious and wise man, is motivated by the cause, his action throughout the story is consistent with the motive,and the god's action towards the survivor harmonizes with the conception of a just and rational god who is merciful to those who obey him and who is just to punish the wicked. Imaginative, concrete details are woven into the legend to tell a good story. Thus, the "Satapatha", the matter-of-fact statement, was used as the material for literary expression.

It seems very natural that a people to whom the belief in the destruction of the world and a new creation at certain cycles is

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fundamental, should develop a legend concerning that end and the new beginning. Of course, it is possible that the tradition existed in India and was modified when it came into contact with Semitic influences. Brinton explains the belief in the long periods of time rounded off by sweeping destructions from the impossibility of imagining a creation out of nothing and from the difficulty of conceiving the eternity of matter. The thought that the world has existed in its present form from the beginning and that men have sought relief by breaking up the illimitable age of the world into cycles or periods of time[1] as the explanation of the destructions.

The sin motive and the religious coloring of the story seem to me to indicate rather an explanation of the deterioration of man. Just as the Greeks and the Hebrews glorified the past with a Golden Age and the future with a heaven or Elysian Fields in an escape from the imperfection of the present, so the Hindus pictured the Krita age and the belief in the absorption into the Supreme. In the Krita age, everything was perfect. There was no mortal work, disease, nor moral defects. In the second age, Treta, virtue decreases. Everyone performs asceticism to procure salvation. Virtue declines one half in the third age, Dvapara. Disease and sin make penance necessary. People sacrifice only to gain heaven. The Manu in the "Agni Purana" is represented as practising "austere fervour for the sake of worldly enjoyment as well as final liberation. Kali is the age of the present in which man is sinful. At the end of this age there is

1 "Myths of the New World" page 199.

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to be a universal destruction, first by fire and then by flood. In the "Matsya Purana" the world is destroyed in this manner. This cycle of ages always repeats itself anew. All of the gods and the spirits of good men are re-absorbed into the All-god to be reborn in the new age. The escape from this rebirth is much more abstract and mystical than that of the Hebrew's heaven but the purpose is the same. Bliss is attained by the Hindu in uniting with God. Therefore, the flood legend finds its explanation in the religious beliefs of the Hindus, just as the Hebrew and Greek stories are motivated by their ethical conceptions. The development of the legends finds its explanation in the imaginative and story telling interest of the people.

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Chapter V

Legends of the Simpler Peoples.

William Ellis, a missionary for nearly eight years to the Society and Sandwich Islands, reports an interesting deluge legend of the Leeward Islands. It is difficult to discover how much the story has been influenced by Christian belief.

Worcester thinks that the Polynesian stories arose from the observation of natural phenomena, which afterwards were given a mythical interpretation. Most of these islands are either of volcanic or of coral formation. Many of them are elevated only a few feet above the sea. They lie in a zone of earthquakes and hurricanes so that tidal waves are not unknown. "Even such points of resemblance with Genesis as a warning or the escape of a certain person in a boat or on a raft,[1] would arise so naturally among people who spend their lives on the water and who are accustomed to read the signs of regularly recurring storms, that they need cause us little surprise. They are sufficiently accounted for by climatic and geographical conditions, embellished by the myth-making faculty

1 In Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible", article "Noah", vol III page 2187, American Edition, 1871, a Fijian story is related in which the survivors are saved in canoes.

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of primitive peoples. Where similarity to Genesis becomes apparent, it is due to the direct influence of the Bible." [1]

It seems highly probable that a very terrible inundation from which only a few escaped did form the basis of the story, just as an unusual catastrophe in the Babylonian valley, probably gave an historical foundation for the Babylonian legend. The differences in the explanations of the destruction and in the character of the legends offer a fascinating study. The motive of the flood in the tradition of the Leeward Islands is the breaking of a tabu. This simple idea is far removed from the Hebrews' conception of universal corruption, and yet, both are, in a sense, transgressions which so displease a god that he destroys the world.

The motive has little effect upon the telling of the story. The story should of course have been motivated by the punishment of the sinner but he alone is saved. There is little conception among primitive peoples of the ethical relations between god and man. Moreover, because the relationship is communal rather than personal, we can understand the destruction of the group. There is nothing in the character of the fisherman to show that he was an habitual tabu breaker, indeed from his pleas and from the readiness of the god to

1 "Genesis in the Light of Modern Knowledge" pages 422-423

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forgive him, we are led to suppose that he broke the tabu through ignorance. The god had to save someone to repopulate the earth, to explain the existence of people to-day, and so, he forgave the penitent fisherman. In striking contrast with the Hebrew God, who punished the guilty but saved the pious, is this Polynesian god, who destroyed the innocent but preserved the sinner. The conception of this god, who sleeps in the cool waters and who becomes very terrible when he is disturbed, is exceedingly primitive. There is an absence of any ethical relation in the actions of god and man.

The story finds a parallel in the Sanskrit legend of the "Bhagavata-Purana". Here the god, Brahma, is represented as sleeping in the time when the Bhurloka and other worlds were submerged in the ocean. Hayagriva comes near and awakens the god by carrying off the Vedas which had issued from his mouth. But there is a consciousness of the ethical relations of god and of man which motivates the story. The advanced, mystic religious beliefs of the Hindus are a striking contrast to the simple, naive conceptions of the Polynesians. The man whom the god saves from the destruction is a royal sage of great piety. The action of the man throughout is consistent with his character and illustrates his kindness, faith, and obedience. Seven sages, "rishis", are likewise saved from the catastrophe as they were guilty of no offense. Hayagriva is slain by Hari, the survivor. Thus, Hari showed his gratitude for the god by killing the offender and the guilty suffered punishment for the offense. We have an absence of motivation in the primitive story but a clear development

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of the motive in the Sanskrit legend.

True to his threat, the god sent such a flood of waters upon the earth that everything except the fisherman, his wife, and the domesticated animals perished. The story tellers wished to make their hearers realize that the flood was an unusual and enormous catastrophe by a brief, realistic description. The flood was not caused by rain but solely by the waters of the ocean. This means of destruction is motivated by the character of the ocean-god. The offense had been committed against him. No other gods are concerned in the transgression. As the sun approached the horizon, Ruahatu began to send his waters upon the land to punish people who were innocent of any breach of tabu. All night long, he forced the waters up from the depths of the sea, until when morning came, he had covered all but the mountain tops, but since no one must escape, these, too, he submerged.

There is something singularly naive in the determined god who allows no one except the fisherman and his companions to escape. Some one has insulted him;but the sinner is so penitent that he can not refuse his pleas to save him. However, the transgression can not go unavenged. His anger must be relieved by making somebody else suffer. Moreover, it would be a terrible example if he allowed people to deride his sacred authority. He will show his power by proving to all mankind that he is a force with which to reckon. Naive, too, is the idea that the fisherman and his friends should have been saved upon a small, low, coralline island. The belief that a few human be-

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ings and many animals could withstand the rushing torrents in a small boat seems simple and fantastic but much more impossible is the idea that one small island remained dry when even the highest mountains were covered.

There is nothing in the actions of the fisherman, except his penitence, to show why he should have been saved. His character is not developed. There is no idea of a unified story in which motive directs the characters and actions. The brief, unrealistic account leads us to suppose that the legend was regarded as a record of an historical event.

The story shows some similarity to the Babylonian and Hebrew legends. The cause, although most naively conceived, is an offense which is punished by the avenging deity. One man and his family are saved, and become the ancestors of the preceding generation as in the Babylonian, Hebrew, and Greek traditions. The addition of the dog, pig, and a pair of fowls, the only domesticated animals known in the island, resembles the preservation of the animals in the Babylonian and Hebrew stories but without the wise provision of two of each kind.

According to Ellis, there was an aetiolgical motive in the telling of the story, for whenever he spoke to them of the improbabilities in their legend, they would allude to the coral, shells, and other marine substances, which were found on the tops of their highest mountains. "These, they say, would never have been carried there by the people, and could not have originally existed in the situations in

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which they are now found, but must have been deposited there by the waters of the ocean, when the islands were inundated."

The Algonkin tradition is even simpler than that of the Leeward Islands for there is apparently no reason at all for the destruction. There is no transgression which would cause such a catastrophe, nor is there an angry god, who punishes man. Nothing is said of the men or animals who were destroyed. No mention is made of any provision for the escape of the progenitor of the present race or of the animals, although they were apparently untouched by the waters which overflowed the world.

Many versions of the legend are extant, the oldest and most authentic of which is that translated from the Montagnais dialect by Father le Jeune, in 1634.[1] The story shows little influence of the Hebrew tradition. It is true that the survivor of the flood, as in the other deluge legends, becomes the father of the new race. The saving of one man finds a parallel in the Sanskrit story in which only Manu escapes the fury of the waters. Manu by his sacrifices secures an offspring; Messou marries the muskrat and peoples the world. The sending out of the raven, otter, and muskrat in succession to find a piece of earth, finds a parallel in the sending forth of the dove, the swallow, the raven in the Gilgamesh Epic and of the raven, the dove, and the dove a second time in the Jahvist account.

1 Brinton, "The Myths of the New World" page 209.

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As the dove returned with an olive leaf, so the muskrat came back with a small piece of earth. These similarities may be due to the direct influence of the Hebrew legend or they may be accidental. It is natural that one man should be saved from the destruction to explain the existence of man now. The part assigned to the birds possibly illustrates the connection that once existed between the creation myth and the deluge myth with its second creation. "The bird is then probably a relic of the cosmogonal myth which explained the origin of the world from the action of the winds, under the image of the bird, on the primeval ocean." [1]

The story is exceedingly simple. There is no development of character, no motive, nor any attempt at explanation. The interest was in the action of the story. All that we know about Messou, the hero, is that when he was out hunting, his wolves went into the lake. He followed the directions of the bird and attempted to reach them. He might have been considered so unusually large that he caused the lake to overflow its banks but I think that the primitive story tellers never stopped to analyze the reasons for the flood. It was an historical record. The punishment of those who detained the wolves is the most consistent act in the legend and is of course, motivated by the desire for retribution. There is an evident attempt to exalt the muskrat above the other animals because the muskrat succeeds in finding earth when the raven and otter fail and because

1 Brinton, "Myths of the New World"

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it becomes the mother of the new race of men. However, I do not think the motive for telling the story was the exaltation of the muskrat. The legend, which had its origin in a catastrophe or which was borrowed from a people who had experienced a severe loss by water was related without detail because, like the Polynesian account, it was regarded as a statement of an actual fact. The use of history for interesting story material had not developed.

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Chapter VI

The Chester Miracle Play.

The miracle play of Noah's Flood illustrates the difference in conception and portrayal of the same event by people of one period and of one culture from that of people of a later age and of another civilization. The Deluge offered many opportunities to imaginative writers of the Middle Ages. In the "Cursor Mundi" (1300) and in the "Miller's Tale" of Chaucer, there are many allusions to Noah. It was one of the most popular subjects in the miracle plays so that every cycle had its Noah and the Ark. The Deluge play of the Chester Cycle best illustrates the mediaeval conception of the Flood. The Chester Plays have come down to us in five manuscripts, all transcribed between 1591 and 1607. The text that I have selected for comparison with the other flood stories is largely taken from the transcript of 1592, although some additions have been made from the manuscript of 1607.

The dramatic tone of the miracle play is determined by the conservative character of Christianity, but the character of the Biblical story is modified by emphasizing some of the incidents. The Priestly Writer was interested in recording secular history and in regulating the religious life of Israel. Therefore, he was interested in God as an abstract, impersonal, ethical force who controlled the destinies of the universe. He was interested in Noah

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only as a pious man, who had lived so in accordance with the will of God that he was exempted from the universal corruption. Noah is not developed as a personality. He is known by what he does, - and his actions are motivated by the conception of sin. The family of Noah are duly recorded but they exist no more as individuals than do the names which appear in the daily papers in the columns of vital statistics. They are introduced because of the ancient idea that a family inevitably shares the fortunes of its head and because they form the links to connect one religious epoch with another, the thread upon which the jewels of Biblical history are strung. The dry, lawyer-like ecclesiastic cared little for personalities. He was interested in the abstract, ethical teachings which moulded the actions of an entire people. He would probably have considered it a waste of time to have spent an hour in talking to another human being but he would have been perfectly happy to have stayed in one little spot many hours in poring over yellow parchments. This man who could expound Israel's title deeds with such enthusiasm probably observed life entirely from his small cloister. He is interested more in the dates and figures of history than in the daring and romantic personages who fill its pages.

The Jahvist, it is true, did center his attention upon the human figures in such a way that he makes us feel a certain strength and sweetness in the characters of "Jahve" and Noah. But he used only a very few strokes of his brush so that, although we perceive certain life-like quality in them, they are not real flesh

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and blood creatures. From the simple statement of the motive, - "And God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. And it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart," - to the sacrifice in which the disillusioned Lord decides, as he smells the sweet savour, to make the best of his creatures, the Jahvist paints a picture which has purity of outline and warmth of coloring. But these are not real human beings either.

In the Sumerian version Ziudsuddu is rescued because someone must be saved to explain the present existence of men and because he was pious, he was chosen. For the same reason, Deucalion in the accounts of Apollodorus and Lucian,and Manu in the "Satapatha Brahmana" survive the catastrophe. In the simple story of the Leeward Islands, man is only an instrument to bring about the flood and in the subsequent action, he is of no importance. In the brief account of the Algonquins there is even less character development. In all of the stories there is only one character who is important. The other members, if there are any, are merely mentioned to account for the perpetuation of the race. Indeed, the human figures in all of these legends are only shadowy beings to serve as an excuse for the flood and to explain the continuance of the race.

It was left to the mediaeval dramatist to create living men and women, who though crude, stand out as real personalities.

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Although the early playwrights sincerely believed in the religious significance of the flood and changed but little the account in Genesis, yet they sought to relieve the moralizing atmosphere of the Flood legend by introducing a humorous situation. Noah's wife, who was merely given honorable mention in Genesis, is made the most interesting and liveliest member of the party. Shem, Ham, Japheth and their wives step out from the pages of the Bible and prove themselves real individuals.

The mediaeval dramatist does not change the Biblical story but he transforms it from a sericus, exalted, abstract account to a humorous, realistic, and concrete presentation. The motive for the destruction is the sin of mankind but it is motivated by the realistic conception. The god, attired in a white coat with his face glittering with gilt, would have seemed a sacrilege to the Priestly Writer whose God is an abstract, ethical force. The actors, however, conceived God very much after the manner of an English king. But God is not the most important figure of the story. He exists as a background for the actions of the human beings just as in the Babylonian and Hebrew stories, man served as the setting for the actions of the gods. Therefore, in harmony with this conception, the deity takes a comparatively minor part. He announces his intention to destroy the world because of its wickedness. The conservative Christians would never have changed the moral but they relegated it to a secondary position. Therefore, the kind of wickedness is not elaborated upon. Long, prosaic, moralizing speeches would not have held the attention of the

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public, who wanted lively action. Mention, however, is made of the fact that Noah is to be saved because he is righteous, but even the exemplary character, which would bring out a strong contrast between the good Noah and the wicked men, is not elaborated upon in any of the speeches but is manifested by the action and the character contrast between Noah and his wife. His directions for the building of the ark give an opportunity for the building scene. Again God comes to Noah to bid him enter the ark so that the entrance scene with its comical character is introduced. The play ends, however, after being relieved by this humorous incident, with a long, didactic speech of God in which he reassures Noah that he will never send another flood. The God of the Priestly Author was a just god but there is nothing warm nor personal in his relations with man. The god in the Miracle Play is exceedingly human in his attitude towards Noah. The play ends with his blessing which is bestowed in a fraternal, and in an almost sentimental spirit.

"My blessing, Noye, I give thee heare,
To thee, Noye, my servante deare;
For vengeance shall noe more appeare,
And now farewell, my darling deare."

Thus, the character of God throughout the play is concrete and realistic. He is like any man, except that he is all powerful. He is by no means the chief actor in the play as he is in the Genesis story but he serves more as a background for the actions of the men and

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women.

Noah ceases to be merely a "just man and perfect in his generations" and shows himself to be a man of strength and individuality. His character throughout the play harmonizes with the conception of him as a righteous man. Only God spoke in the story of the Priestly Writer. "According to all that God commanded him, so did he," was the obedient response of the Biblical Noah. The Noah of the Miracle Play is not so in awe of the God. Profusely, he thanks the Lord for his kindness and promises never more to grieve him. Obediently, "in the name of God" he builds the ship. When God orders him to enter the ark, he seizes the opportunity again to impress God with his obedience and to explain his reverence for the one upon whom his fate rests.

"Lorde, to thy byddinge I am beane,
Seinge noe other grace will gayne,
Yt will I fulfill fayne,
For gracious I thee fynde,"

Noah shows his patience and goodness when he does not retaliate upon receiving his wife's blow, although he exclaimed.

"Ha, ha, marye this is hotte!
It is good for to be still."

As the waters begin to submerge the land, Noah gratefully remembers his saviour.

"God doe as he will.
A! greate God, that arte so good,

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That worckes not thy will is wood."

When the waters have been assuaged, Noah again blesses the Lord and thanks him devoutly. Not until God commands him, will the pious Noah stir out of the ark.

"Ah Lord honored most thou be,
All earthe dryes now I see,
But yet till I commande me
Hence will I not bye."

The reason that Noah gives for his desire to set foot again on dry land is that of sacrificing to God in token of his gratitude. Thus, the character of Noah is much more fully developed by the mediaeval dramatist who regarded him as a real man rather than a type to illustrate God's justice. All of his actions are motivated by the idea of his piety.

Shem, Ham, Japheth and even their wives are living creatures. They are not represented as men chosen by God to escape destruction because they are righteous but as in the Biblical story, they belong to Noah and so are awarded his fate. However, they prove by their actions that they are industrious and obedient and so deserving of their good fortune. All at the bidding of Noah, hasten to help him fulfill God's commands. Shem offers to help his father out of his difficulty by bringing his mother into the ark. Ham shows his willingness to aid his father and Japheth begs his mother "for his love that you boughte" to come into the ship. The guild members probably

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never remembered that the Flood was supposed to have occurred many years before the time of Christ. The inhabitants of the ark were portrayed as men like themselves, with all of their customary sayings. The dramatist probably cared little for historical accuracy but was wholly interested in his character.

But the leading character of the play is Noah's wife, a character to whom Scripture ascribes only a name. Noah in all of his actions proves himself worthy of the Lord's opinion of him but Noah's wife shows herself to be of the "earth earthy". All of the humo r which the mediaeval dramatist possessed, was lavished upon her. This was introduced probably to give the noisy public a relief from the pious, obedient Noah. There is consistency in her character. When all of the others eagerly prepare for the building of the ark, she asserts her willingness to assist but we are sure that she will bring only a few small pieces of wood and then will sneak away to gossip with her cronies.

"And we shall bring timber too,
For we move nothinge elles doe,
Women be weeke to underfoe
Any greate travill."

She positively refuses to yield to the wishes of her poor husband, and torments him so that he reasons from the particular to the general and infers that "wemen be crabbed and non are meke." The shrew, ever a humorous character in fiction, is developed at

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great length. Noah, however, maintains his good temper and even acknowledges her as the "maister." The height of the story is reached when Noah endeavors to persuade her to enter the ark. This wilful and determined woman refuses to enter the chest[1] unless she can take her gossips with her. She very independently suggests to Noah that he get him a new wife. The faithful Noah must fulfill the Lord's commands, although his wife seems determined to frustrate the divine will. Noah, however, although sorely tried, keeps his righteous character and when she is brought in the boat by her son, calmly and forgivingly welcomes her. She, true to her character, takes advantage of his goodness and deals him a severe blow but the good Noah only forgives her. Thus, while her character is developed to entertain the observers and to give an opportunity for spirited action to relieve the moralizing character of the Biblical story, yet she serves to bring out the piety of Noah, the one man who was deemed righteous in the wicked generation.

Just as the characters are made vivid and realistic, the scenes which give an opportunity for dramatic action are elaborated. The building scene is performed with gusto. Shem appears with his axe, Ham with his hatchet, Japheth with his hammer, Noah's wife promises to bring some timber, Shem's wife brings a "haockinge

1 In both the Priestly and Jahvistic accounts the word that denotes the ark is תֵּבָה 'chest' (κιβωτός, Vulgate 'arca') It is used elsewhere only of Moses' ark of Nile-reeds, Exodus II, 35. The word may be of Egyptian but is probably not of Babylonian origin.

"Encyclopedia Biblica" Vol. I, page 1061.

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stoccke," Ham's wife gathers plaster, and Japheth's wife collects chips for the fire on which she is planning to cook dinner for the busy workers. Then each begins to perform his special task. However, to make the scene more interesting, Noah's wife shows herself to be so independent and obstinate that Noah appeals to the humor of the audience by saying,

"For all the wene that thou arte maister,
And so thou arte, by Sante John!"

The entrance into the ark provided a subject for the fancy of the mediaeval dramatist. Each son and son's wife enumerates in turn the different animals which come flocking into the ark.

"Hares hoppinge gaylie can goe."

Noah's wife, however, is not so docile. She loves too well to drink and chat with her "gossippes." It was a simple matter to get the lions, leopards, and bears into the ark but Noah almost despaired of saving his wife until finally, his stalwart son picked her up and carried her in after the water had begun to spread over the land. The scene in the ark should have offered entertaining material for the imagination of the dramatist but probably there was not sufficient time nor space for such a presentation. Noah sends out the dove and afterwards, God comes to Noah and dictates the future conditions for man and beast.

Thus, while the motive is the same as that in the Genesis story yet instead of coloring the entire story with a moral tinge, the emphasis is placed upon the characters and their actions. The

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The action of the characters is consistent throughout and harmonizes with the motive. The difference in presentation depends upon the difference of conceptions. The Priestly Writer was interested in the moral behavior of men in general. The mediaeval dramatist was interested in the ordinary action of individual men. God, to the Priestly author was an abstract, moral force; to the mediaeval dramatist, a concrete, personified man. The serious, high-minded antiquarian was interested in a church; the jovial, worldly-interested dramatist in people. The moral motive of the Hebrew story is of primary importance as the characters are only incidental, but the motive of the miracle play, although the action of the characters clarifies the piety of Noah, is secondary, as the emphasis has been shifted to the "dramatis personae."

But why should there be this difference between the deluge legends and the account in the miracle play? First, however, I shall meet the objection of those who protest that the miracle play is not a flood legend and should not be used to contrast the difference in treatment. The Hebrews adopted the tradition, in all probability, from Babylonia, but in a short time, it became thoroughly their own. Their most sacred history was incorporated into the story. Their advanced ethical conceptions, their belief in a just, monotheistic deity, and their cherished, distinct religious customs form such a different superstructure that it is difficult to recognize the borrowed foundation. The people of mediaeval England, who borrowed all of their religious history from the Hebrews, also adopted the story of the flood and interpreted it

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in the light of their own understanding. The story was sacred to them as it had been to the Israelites and became as thoroughly a part of their religion. The mediaeval dramatist presented his play about twenty-one hundred years after the Priestly Codex; the Priestly writer wrote his account fifteen hundred years after the Sumerian version. When one considers the thousands of years in which the story has been developing, six hundred years difference in the time of the adoption of the accounts fades into comparative insignificance. Because the mediaeval people adopted the Hebrew story and made it a part of their religious history, just as the Hebrews had adopted the Babylonian tradition and incorporated it into their sacred literature, I think that we are as justified in discussing the representation of the flood by the mediaevalist as we are in studying the interpretation by the Hebrews.

Why, then does the Miracle Play represent the characters and actions realistically? The reason is to be found in the differences in the conceptions of the flood. The motive of the flood in the Sumerian Version is the impiety of the people. The gods, desiring worshippers, save a pious priest. The story-teller, with a foundation of an actual catastrophe in all probability, invents an explanation for the terrible occurrence. The reason which would appeal to the simple peoples who explained phenomena of nature by the action of a personified deity is that the gods are angry. The simplest reason for anger is personal injury. The natural way in whichpeople would offend the gods would be by not worshipping them sufficiently and so, the insulted gods would punish them by annihilation. In such a manner, would the recorder

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account for the flood. His version, therefore, is a statement of fact with its explanation. There are no elaborations of action and characters for the sake of vividness and picturesquesness. The action and characters are only partially motivated by the underlying idea.

But the account in the Gilgamesh Epic is far more detailed and realistic. The purpose of the author of the Sumerian version was to recount an historical event with the religious explanation. The purpose of the author of the Gilgamesh Epic is to tell an interesting story which is to be embodied in the national epic. Therefore, the imagination of the story teller, picturing the scenes and the characters, motivates his story by the reason for the flood. The description of the gods, especially those scenes which illustrate the superiority of Ea over Enlil, are very realistic. The scene in which Utnapishtim aska Ea how he should reply to the ridicule of his townspeople manifests an understanding of a real situation. The building scene in which the workmen steal the sar of oil, the storm in which the gods roar and lift the torches that illuminate the land, the scene of the great gods in heaven during the storm, the picture of the gods flocking like flies around the sacrificer, and the scene in which the angry god is soothed and blesses Utnapishtim, all make a vivid, picturesque, and interesting story which would catch the imagination of the listeners.

The motive for the destruction in the Hebrew stories is the corruption of mankind. Here is a much higher conception.than that in the Sumerian Version, for there is no idea of personal injury but one

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of the degeneracy of men. The Priestly Redactor partially developed the character and action of the hero by the underlying idea. His purpose was to record sacred history and to establish rules of conduct for Israel. Likewise, the character is only partially motivated in the Jahvistic account, although there are touches here of descriptions that make the scenes more vivid. In the Greek accounts of Apollodorus and of Lucian and in the Hindu tradition of the "Satapatha Brahmana", there is the same partial motivation of the characters by the underlying theme. They are concerned with man only as he obeys the will of the god who excepts him to preserve the race. The character is always colorless and undeveloped. The primitive people, the Polynesian and Algonquin, placed even less emphasis upon the personality of the man. There is an absence of motive in the Algonquin tradition and in the Polynesian, the motive and action of the character is not consistent. In all of these legends the purpose is the recounting of an event which the authors believed to have actually occurred. The explanation for the catastrophe was suggested in the personified force that controlled the phenomena of life. The more sophisticated and the more sensitive were the people in their ethical relations, the more they related the moral character of life to that controlling force. Therefore, if the legend had come to be regarded as something more than an historical event, it was concerned with the rationalization of life under an ethical conception and not with the development of the personalities of the characters.

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The Miracle Play, however, displays the ethical meaning only partially; it is supremely concerned with the representation of life. The playwright's purpose was not primarily to relate an historical event or to regulate the religious life of the people. The motive for the destruction, the corruption of man, is brought out only by the obedience of Noah to the divine will, by the contrast of Noah's sanctimonious behavior with his wife's rude actions, and by the moralizing, didactic speech of the god at the end. The play was written to be presented before a throng of noisy, jostling, simple folk. The dramatist of course, wished for their applause, but he could not expect the untutored aesthetic people to delight in obtrusive didactism. They desired action that would hold their attention and amuse them. "In the minster and out of it, all through the Christian year, the townsfolk of York and Chester had as much of ritual, of scriptural narrative, and tragic mystery as they wanted, and probably more; when the pageants were acted, they listened with simple credulity, no doubt, to the sacred history, and with a reverence that our age of illumination can neither emulate nor understand, - but with keenest expectation they awaited the invented episodes where tradition conformed itself to familiar life, - the impromptu sallies, the cloth-yard shafts of civic and domestic satire sped by well-known wags of town or gild." [1] Therefore, every person in the story is a personality and plays a part in harmony with his charac-

1 Gayley, "Representative English Comedies" page XXXVI

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ter. The episode of the entrance into the ark is inserted for relief. Noah's wife is represented as unruly, independent much to the delight of the crowd who would not be interested for very long in the dull, prosaic Noah or the moralizing Lord. Domestic strife has ever been a subject of interest and amusement. Dramatic suspense is added by the stubborn refusal of the wife and the pleas of the husband and sons as the waters rise higher and higher.

The mediaeval dramatist saw in the Genesis account of the Flood,material for an amusing and highly entertaining play. His conception possessed unity because he developed his characters and their actions in harmony with the motive. The characters and their actions are elaborated in a vivid, concrete, and realistic manner that would appeal to the imagination of the people. In a similar manner, the Flood story in the Gilgamesh Epic is a conscious literary development from the early version of the Babylonian Deluge Legend. The stories of Deucalion by Apollodorus and Lucian are brief statements of history. The elaborate, realistic account of Ovid has a story-telling interest. The scenes are clearly and concretely placed before us; the council of the gods and the storm stand out as pictures. The legend in the "Satapatha Brahmana" is a prosaic, matter-of-fact record but the fancy of the authors of the "Mahabharata" and of the "Purana"has elaborated it with picturesque and entertaining scenes. Just as the modern dramatists and writers draw upon the legends of of the past and upon historic incidents for material for their literary productions, so the mediaeval dramatists like the authors of

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these later flood legends, have taken the early, simple statement of fact and embroidered it with the figures of their imagination into a harmonious and vivid design.

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The Appendix

1. Some of the principal Deluge Legends.

2. Bibliography

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Sumerian Version.[1]

At that time Nintu(. . .) like a (. .)

The holy Innanna lamented on account of her people.

Enki in his own heart (held) counsel;

Anu, Enlil, Enki and Ninkharsagga (. .)

The gods of heaven and earth in(voked) the name of Anu and Enlil.

At that time Ziusudu, the king, . . . priest of the god . .

Made a very great . . . .

In humility he prostrates himself, in reverence . .

Daily he stands in attendance . . .

A dream, such as had not been before, comes forth . . .

By the Name of Heaven and Earth he conjures(. . .)

For (. .) the gods a . . .

Ziusudu standing at its side heard (. . .)

'At the wall on my left side take thy stand and (. .)

At the wall I will speak a word to thee

O my devout one . . . .

By our hand(?) a flood (. . .) will be (sent)

To destroy the seed of mankind (. . .)

Is the decision, the word of the assembly (of the gods)

The commands of Anu and Enlil . . .

Its kingdom, its rule(. . .)

To his (. . . . .)

(1) L. W. King. "Legends of Babylon and Egypt."

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All the mighty wind-storms together blew,

The flood . . . raged.

When for seven days, for seven nights,

The flood had overwhelmed the land,

When the wind-storm had driven the great boat over the

mighty waters,

The Sun-god came forth, shedding light over heaven and earth.

Ziusudu opened the opening of the great boat;

The light of the hero, the Sun-god, (he) causes to enter into

the interior(?) of the great boat.

Ziusudu, the king,

Bows himself down before the Sun-god;

The king sacrifices an ox, a sheep he slaughters(?)

. . . . . .

Ziusudu, the king,

Before Anu and Enlil bows himself down.

Life like (that of) a god he gives to him.

An eternal soul like (that of) a god he creates for him.

In a land, the land of Dilmun(?), they caused him to dwell.

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(1)

The Gilgamesh Epic.

"Gilgamesh speaks to him, to Utnapishtim, the far-removed:

'I gaze at thee, Utnapishtim.

Thy appearance is not different. As I am, so art thou.

And thou are not different. As I am, so art thou.

Thou art completely ready for the fray.

. . . . thou hast placed upon thee.

(Tell me) how thou didst enter into the assembly of the

gods and secure life.' "

"I will reveal to thee, Gilgamesh, a secret story,

And the decision of the gods I will tell thee.

The city Shuruppak, a city which thou knowest,

(The one that) lies on the Euphrates,

That city was old, and the gods thereof

Induced the great gods to bring a cyclone over it;

It was planned (?) by their father Anu,

(By) their counsellor, the warrior Enlil,

(By) their herald Ninib,

(By) their leader En-nugi.

The lord of brilliant vision, Ea, was with them.

He repeated their decision to the reed-hut.

'Reed-hut, reed-hut, wall, wall,

Reed-hut, hear! Wall, give ear!

(1) Jastrow. "Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions." pp. 325-334

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O man of Shuruppak, son of Ubara-Tutu,

Break up the house, build a ship,

Abandon your property, seek life.

Throw aside your possessions, and preserve life,

Bring into the ship seed of all living things.

The ship that thou shalt build,

Let its dimensions be measured, (so that)

Its breadth and length be made to correspond.

On a level with the deep, provide it with a covering.'"

"I did not reveal the oracle of the great gods

I sent Atrakhasis a dream, and so he understood the

oracle of the gods."

"Reed-hut, reed-hut, wall, wall!

Reed-hut, hear! Wall, give ear!"

"I understood and spoke to Ea, my lord.

(The command) of my lord which thou hast commanded,

As I have understood (it), I will carry out.

(But what) shall I answer the city, the people, and

the elders?

Ea opened his mouth and spoke:

Spoke to me, his servant.

(As answer) thus speak to them:

(Know that) Enlil has conceived hatred towards me,

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So that I can no longer dwell (in your city)

(On) Enlil's territory I dare no longer set my face.

Therefore, I go to the 'deep' to dwell with Ea, my lord.

Over you he will cause blessing to rain down.

(Catch of) bird, catch of fish,

And . . . . . rich crops."

"On the fifth day, I designed its outline.

According to the plan (?), the walls were to be ten gar high.

Correspondingly, ten gar the measure of its width.

I determined upon its shape (and) drew it.

I weighted it six-fold.

I divided (the superstructure?) into seven parts.

Its interior I divided into nine parts.

Water-plugs I constructed in the interior.

I selected a pole and added accessories.

Six sar of asphalt I poured on the outer wall.

Three sar of pitch (I poured) on the inner wall.

Three sar the workmen carried away in their baskets. Of oil,

Besides one sar oil which was used for the sacrifice,

The boatman secreted two sar of oil."

"All that I had I loaded on her.

All that I had of silver I loaded on her.

All that I had of gold I loaded on her.

All that I had of living beings of all kinds I loaded on her.

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I brought to the ship all my family and household;

Cattle of the field, beasts of the field, all the workmen

I brought on board."

Shamash had fixed the time,

'When the rulers of darkness(?) at evening time shall cause

a terrific rain-storm,

Step into the ship and close the door.'

The fixed time approached,

When the rulers of darkness(?) at evening time were to

cause a terrific rain-storm.

I recognized the symptoms of (such) a day

A day, for the appearance of which I was in terror.

I entered the ship and closed the door.

To steer the ship, to Puzur-Kurgal, the boatman,

I entrusted the palace together with its cargo.

As morning dawned,

There arose on the firmament of heaven black clouds,

Adad thundered therein;

Nebo and Lugal marched in advance,

Ira tears out the ship's pole.

Ninib marches, commanding the attack,

The Anunnaki lift torches,

Illuminating the land with with their sheen,

Adad's roar reaches to heaven,

All light is changed to darkness.

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. . . . . .

One day the hurricane raged . . . . .

Storming furiously . . . . .

Coming like a combat over men.

Brother sees not brother:

Those in heaven do not know one another.

The gods are terrified at the cyclone,

They flee and mount to the heaven of Anu;

The gods crouch like dogs in an enclosure.

Ishtar cries aloud like one in birth throes,

The mistress of the gods howls aloud:

'That day be turned to clay,

When I in the assembly of the gods decreed evil;

That I should have decreed evil in the assembly of the gods!

For the destruction of my people should have ordered a combat!

Did I bring forth my people,

That like fish they should fill the sea?'

All of the Anunnaki weep with her.

The gods sit down, depressed and weeping.

Their lips are closed . . . .

Six days and nights

The storm, cyclone (and) hurricane continued to sweep over the land."

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When the seventh day approached, the hurricane and
cyclone ceased the combat,
After having fought like warriors(?)
The sea grew quiet, the evil storm abated, the cyclone
was restrained.
I looked at the day and the roar had quieted down.
And all mankind had turned to clay.
Like an enclosure . . had become.
I opened a window and light fell on my face,
I bowed down and sat down (and) wept,
Tears flowed over my face.
I looked in all directions of the sea.
At a distance of twelve (miles) an island appeared.
At Mount Nizir the ship stood still.
Mount Nizir took hold of the ship so that it could not
move.
One day, two days, Mount Nizir, etc.
Three days and four days, Mount Nizir, etc.
Five days, six days, Mount Nizir, etc.
When the seventh day arrived,
I sent forth a dove, letting it free.
The dove went hither and thither;
Not finding a resting-place, it came back.
I sent forth a swallow, letting it free.

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The swallow went hither and thither.

Not finding a resting-place, it came back.

I sent forth a raven, letting it free.

The raven went and saw the decrease of the waters.

It ate, croaked, (?) but did not turn back.

Then I let (all) out to the four regions (and) brought an offering.

I brought a sacrifice on the mountain top.

Seven and seven adagur jars I arranged.

Beneath them I strewed reeds, cedarwood and myrtle.

The gods smelled the odor,

The gods smelled the sweet odor.

The gods like flies gathered around the sacrificer.

As soon as the mistress of the gods arrived,

She raised on high the large necklace(?) which Anu had made according to his art.

'Ye gods, as surely as I will not forget these precious stones at my neck,

So will I remember these days - never to forget them.

Let the gods come to the sacrifice.

But let Enlil not come to the sacrifice.

Because without reflection he brought on the cyclone,

And decreed destruction for my people.'

As soon as Enlil arrived,

He saw the ship, and Enlil was enraged.

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Filled with anger at the Igigi.

'Who now has escaped with his life?

No man was to survive the destruction!'

Ninib opened his mouth and spoke,

Spoke to the warrior Enlil,

'Who except Ea can plan any affair?

Ea indeed knows every order.'

Ea opened his mouth and spoke,

Spoke to the warrior Enlil:

'Thou art the leader (and) warrior of the gods.

But why didst thou, without reflection, bring on the cyclone?

On the sinner impose his sin,

On the evil-doer impose his evil,

But be merciful not to root out completely! be considerate not (to destroy altogether).

Instead of bringing on a cyclone,

Lions might have come and diminished mankind.

Instead of bringing on a cyclone,

Jackals might have come and diminished mankind.

Instead of bringing on a cyclone,

Famine might have come and overwhelmed the land

Instead of bringing on a cyclone,

Ira might have come and destroyed the land.

I did not reveal the oracle of the great gods,

I sent Atrakhasis a dream and he understood the oracle

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of the gods.

Now take counsel for him.

Enlil mounted the ship,

Took hold of my hand and led me up,

Led me up and caused my wife to kneel at my side,

Touched our foreheads, stepped between us (and) blessed us.

Hitherto Utnapishtim was a man;

Now Utnapishtim and his wife shall be on a level with the gods.

Utnapishtim shall dwell in the distance, at the confluence of the streams.

Then they took me and settled me at the confluence of the streams."

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THE ACCOUNT OF BEROSUS.

"Obartes being dead, his son Xisuthros (Hasisatra), reigned eighteen sars (64,800 years). It was in his time that the great deluge came to pass, the history of which is related in the following manner in the sacred documents: Cronos (Ea) appeared to him in his sleep and announced to him that on the fifteenth of the month of Daisios (the Assyrian month Sivan, a little before the summer solstice), all mankind would perish by a deluge. He then commanded him to take the beginning, the middle, and the end of all that had been consigned to writing and to bring it in the city of the Sun, Sippara; after that to build a ship, and go on board of it with his family and dearest friends, to place in the vessel provisions for food and drink, and to introduce into it animals both fowls and quadrupeds; lastly to get everything ready for navigation. And when Xisuthros asked in which direction he should steer his vessel, he was told 'toward the gods' and to pray that good should come of it to men.

Xisuthros obeyed and built a ship five stadia long and two broad; he gathered in all that had been commanded him, and took on board his wife, his children and his intimate friends.

The deluge having come upon them, and soon subsiding, Xisuthros loosed some of the birds, who having found neither

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food nor place of rest, returned to the vessel. Some days later Xisuthros again gave them their liberty, but they returned once more to the ship, their feet soiled with mud. At last being loosed for the third time, the birds returned no more. Then Xisuthros understood the earth was bare; he made an opening in the roof of the ship and found that it had gone aground upon a mountain. Then he came down with his wife, his daughter, and his pilot, worshipped the Earth, raised an altar and sacrificed thereon to the gods; at this moment he disappeared with those who bore him company.

Nevertheless, those who remained in the ship, not seeing Xisuthros return, also descended to the ground and began to look for him, calling him by name. They never saw Xisuthros again, but a voice from heaven made itself heard, bidding them be pious toward the gods; that he had received the reward of his piety in being taken up to dwell henceforth among the gods, and his wife, his daughter, and the pilot of the vessel shared this great honor. The voice said, moreover, to those who were left, that they should return to Babylonia, and agreeably to the decree of fate dig up the writings buried at Sippara in order to transmit them to men. It added that the country where they then were was Armenia. After hearing the voice, they sacrificed to the gods, and returned on foot to Babylonia. A portion of Xisuthros' ship, which finally

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went aground in Armenia, is still found in the Gordyaean in Armenia, and pilgrims bring away asphaltum which they have scraped from the fragments; they use it against witchcraft. As to the companions of Xisthros, they arrived in Babylonia, dug up the writings buried at Sippara, founded a number of cities, built temples and restored Babylon"

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(1) THE JAHVISTIC ACCOUNT.

And GOD saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually.

And it repented the LORD that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart.

And the LORD said, I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth; both man, and beast, and the creeping thing, and the fowls of the air; for it repenteth me that I have made them.

But Noah found grace in the eyes of the LORD.

And the LORD said unto Noah, Come thou and all thy house into the ark; for thee have I seen righteous before me in this generation.

Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee by sevens, the male and his female: and of beasts that are not clean by two, the male and his female.

Of fowls also of the air by sevens, the male and the female; too keep seed alive upon the face of all the earth.

(1) Revised Version. American Bible Society. 1917. Genesis. Chapter VI, 5-9. Chapter VII, 1-5, 7-10, 12, 15b, 17b, 22-24. Chapter VIII, 2b, 3a, 6-13, 13b, 20-22 inclusive.

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For yet seven days, and I will cause it to rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights; and every living substance that I have made will I destroy from off the face of the earth.

And Noah did according unto all that the LORD commanded him.

And Noah went in, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him, into the ark, because of the waters of the flood.

And it came to pass after seven days, that the waters of the flood were upon the earth.

And the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights.

And the LORD shut him in.

And the waters increased, and bare up the ark, and it was lifted up above the earth.

All in whose nostrils was the breath of life, of all that was in the dry land, died.

And every living substance was destroyed which was upon the face of the ground, both man, and cattle, and the and the creeping things, and the fowl of the heaven; and they were destroyed from the earth: and Noah only remained alive, and they that were with him in the ark.

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And the rain from heaven was restrained.

And the waters returned from off the earth continually.

- And it came to pass at the end of forty days, that Noah opened the window of the ark which he had made:

And he sent forth a raven, which went forth to and fro, until the waters were dried up from off the earth.

Also he sent forth a dove from him, to see if the waters were abated from off the face of the ground.

But the dove found no rest for the sole of her foot, and she returned unto him into the ark; for the waters were on the face of the whole earth. Then he put forth his hand, and took her, and pulled her in unto him into the ark.

And he stayed yet other seven days; and again he sent forth the dove out of the ark.

And the dove came in to him in the evening, and, lo, in her mouth was an olive leaf plucked off: so Noah knew that the waters were abated from off the earth.

And he stayed yet other seven days, and sent forth the dove out of the ark, which returned not again unto him any more.

And Noah removed the covering of the ark, and looked, and, behold, the face of the ground was dry.

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And Noah builded an altar unto the LORD; and took of every clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings on the altar.

And the LORD smelled a sweet savour; and the LORD said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake; for the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth: neither will I again smite any more every thing living, as I have done.

While the earth remaineth, seed-time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease.

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(1)

THE ACCOUNT OF THE PRIESTLY REDACTOR.

These are the generations of Noah: Noah was a just man and perfect in his generations, and Noah walked with God.

And Noah begat three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

The earth also was corrupt before God; and the earth was filled with violence.

And God looked upon the earth, and, behold, it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth.

And God said unto Noah, The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them; and, behold, I will destroy them with the earth.

Make thee an ark of gopher wood; rooms shalt thou make in the ark, and shalt pitch it within and without with pitch.

And this is the fashion which thou shalt make it of: The length of the ark shall be three hundred cubits, the breadth of it fifty cubits, and the height of it thirty cubits.

(1)
Revised Version American Bible Society. 1917.
Genesis. Chapter VI; 9-22 inclusive. Chapter VII; 6,11, 13-16a incl.17a, 18-21 incl, 24. Chapter VIII; 1-2a incl, 3b-6, 13a, 14-20. Chapter IX; 1-29 incl.

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A window shalt thou make to the ark, and in a cubit shalt thou finish it above; and the door of the ark shalt thou set in the side thereof; with lower, second, and third stories shalt thou make it.

And, behold, I even I, do bring a flood of waters upon the earth, to destroy all flesh, wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven; and every thing that is in the earth shall die.

But with thee will I establish my covenant; and thou shalt come into the ark, thou, and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives with thee.

And of every living thing of all flesh, two of every sort shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive with with thee; they shall be male and female.

Of fowls after their kind, and of cattle after their kind, of every creeping thing of the earth after his kind; two of every sort shall come unto thee, to keep them alive.

And take thou unto thee of all food that is eaten, and thou shalt gather it to thee; and it shall be for food for thee and for them.

Thus did Noah; according to all that God commanded him, so did he.

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And Noah was six hundred years old when the flood of waters was upon the earth.

And in the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, the seventeenth day of the month, the same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened.

In the selfsame day entered Noah, and Shem, and Ham, and Japheth, the sons of Noah, and Noah's wife, and the three wives of his sons with them, into the ark;

They, and every beast after his kind, and all the cattle after their kind, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind, and every fowl after his kind, every bird of every sort.

And they went in unto Noah into the ark two and two of all flesh, wherein is the breath of life.

And they that went in, went in male and female of all flesh, as God had commanded him:

And the flood was forty days upon the earth;

And the waters prevailed, and were increased greatly upon the earth; and the ark went upon the face of the waters.

And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth; and all the high hills, that were under the whole heaven, were covered.

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Fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail; and the mountains were covered.

And all flesh died that moved upon the earth, both of fowl, and of cattle, and of beast, and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, and every man:

And the waters prevailed upon the earth a hundred and fifty days.

And God remembered Noah, and every living thing, and all the cattle that was with him in the ark: and God made a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters assuaged.

The fountains also of the deep and the windows of heaven were stopped.

And after the end of the hundred and fifty days the waters were abated.

And the ark rested in the **seventh** month, on the seventeenth day of the month, upon the mountains of Ararat.

And the waters decreased continually until the tenth month; on the first day of the month, in the tenth month , were the tops of the mountains seen.

And it came to pass in the six hundredth and first year, in the first month, the first day of the month, the waters were dried up from off the earth;

And in the second month, on the seven and twentieth day of the month, was the earth dried.

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And God spake unto Noah, saying,

Go forth of the ark, thou, and thy wife, and thy sons, and thy sons' wives with thee.

Bring forth with thee every living thing that is with thee, of all flesh, both of fowl, and of cattle, and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth; that they may breed abundantly in the earth, and be fruitful, and multiply upon the earth.

And Noah went forth, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him:

Every beast, every creeping thing, and every fowl, and whatsoever creepeth upon the earth, after their kinds, went forth out of the ark.

And God blessed Noah and his sons, and said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth.

And the fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every fowl of the air, upon all that moveth upon the earth, and upon all the fishes of the sea; into your hand are they delivered.

Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you; even as the green herb have I given you all things.

But flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not eat.

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And surely your blood of your lives will I require: atthe hand of every beast will I require it, and at the hand of man; at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man.

Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God made he man.

And you, be ye fruitful, and multiply; bring forth abundantly in the earth, and multiply therein.

And God spake unto Noah, and to his sons with him, saying,

And I, Behold, I establish my covenant with you, and with your seed after you;

And with every living creature that is with you, of the fowl, of the cattle, and of every beast of the earth with you; from all that go out of the ark, to every beast of the earth.

And I will establish my covenant with you; neither shall all flesh be cut off any more by the waters of a flood; neither shall there any more be a flood to destroy the earth.

And God said, This is the token of the covenant which I make between me and you, and every living creature that is with you, for perpetual generations:

I do set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth.

And it shall come to pass, when I bring a cloud over the earth, that the bow shall be seen in the cloud:

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And I will remember my covenant, which is between me and you and every living creature of all flesh; and the waters shall no more become a flood to destroy all flesh.

And the bow shall be in the cloud; and I will look upon it, that I may remember the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh that is upon the earth.

And God said unto Noah, This is the token of the covenant, which I have established between me and all flesh that is upon the earth.

And the sons of Noah, that went forth of the ark, were Shem, and Ham, and Japheth: and Ham is the father of Canaan.

These are the three sons of Noah: and of them was the whole earth overspread.

And Noah began to be a husbandman, and he planted a vineyard:

And he drank of the wine, and was drunken; and he was uncovered within his tent.

And Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, and told his two brethren without.

And Shem and Japheth took a garment, and laid it upon their shoulders, and went backward, and covered the nakedness of their father; and their faces were backward, and they saw not their father's nakedness.

And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him.

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And he said, Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.

And he said, Blessed be the LORD God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.

God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; andCanaan shall be his servant.

And Noah lived after the flood three hundred and fifty years.

And all the days of Noah were nine hundred and fifty years: and he died.

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(1) THE ACCOUNT OF APOLLODORUS.

"Deucalion was the son of Prometheus. He reigned as king in the country about Phthia and married Pyrrha, the daughter of Epimetheus and Pandora, the first woman fashioned by the gods. But when Zeus wished to destroy the men of the Bronze Age, Deucalion by the advice of Prometheus constructed a chest or ark, and having stored in it what was needful he entered into it with his wife. But Zeus poured a great rain from the sky upon the earth and washed down the greater part of Greece, so that all men perished except a few, who fled to the high mountains near. Then the mountains in Thessaly were parted, and all the world beyond the Isthmus and Peloponnese was overwhelmed. But Deucalion in the ark, floating over the sea for nine days and as many nights, grounded on Parnassus, and there, when the rain ceased, he disembarked and sacrificed to Zeus, the God of Escape. And Zeus sent Hermes to him and allowed him to choose what he would, and he chose men. So Zeus bade him pick up stones and throw them over his head; and the stones which Deucalion threw became men, and the stones which Pyrrha threw became women. That is why in Greek people are called laoi from laas, 'a stone.'"

(1)Apollodorus, "Bibliotheca",I, 7, 2.

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(1)

LUCIAN'S ACCOUNT OF THE DELUGE.

"The people, then, allege that it was Deukalion or Sisythus who founded the temple; I mean the Deukalion in whose time the great flood occurred. I have heard the story about Deukalion as the Greeks narrate it from the Greeks themselves. The story runs as follows: The present race of men was not the first to be created. The first generation perished to a man; the present is a second creation. This generation became a vast multitude, owing to Deukalion. Of the men of the original creation they tell this tale: they were rebellious, and wilful, and performed unholy deeds, disregarding the sanctity of oaths and hospitality, and behaving cruelly to suppliants; and it was for these misdeeds that the great destruction fell upon them. Straightway the earth discharged a vast volume of water, and the rivers of heaven came down in streams and the sea mounted high. Thus everything became water, and all men perished; Deukalion alone was saved for another generation, on the score of his

(1)
Lucian. "De Dea Syria". Translated by Professor H. A. Strong. pp.50-51.

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wisdom and piety. The manner of his salvation was as follows: He placed his children and his wives in an ark of vast size, and he himself also entered in. Now, when he had embarked, there came to him wild boars and horses, and generations of lions and serpents, and all the other beasts which roam the earth, all in couples. He welcomed them all, nor did they harm him; and friendship remained amongst them as Zeus himself ordained. These, one and all, floated in this ark as long as the flood remained. This is the legend of Deukalion as told by the Greeks."

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The Account of Ovid. (1)

When the Father of the Gods, the son of Saturn, beheld this from his loftiest height, he groaned aloud; and recalling to memory the polluted banquet on the table of Lycaon, not yet publicly known, from the crime being but lately committed, he conceives in his mind vast wrath, and such as is worthy of Jove, and calls together a council; no delay detains them, thus summoned.

There is a way on high, easily seen in a clear sky, and which, remarkable for its very whiteness, receives the name of the Milky Way. Along this is the way for the Gods above to the abode of the great Thunderer and his royal palace. On the right and on the left side the courts of the ennobled Deities are thronged, with open gates. The Gods of lower rank inhabit various places; in front of the Way, the powerful and illustrious inhabitants of Heaven have established their residence. This is the place which, if boldness may be allowed to my expression, I should not hesitate to style the palatial residence of Heaven. When, therefore, the Gods above had taken their seats in the marble hall of assembly; he himself, elevated on his seat, and leaning on his sceptre of ivory, three or four times shook the awful locks of his head, with which he makes the Earth, the Seas, and the Stars to tremble. Then, after such manner as this, did he open his indignant lips; -

"Not even at that time was I more concerned for the empire of the universe, when each of the snake-footed monsters was endeavoring to lay

(1) "Metamorphoses" Vol. I. pp. 22 - 36. Translated by Henry Riley.

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his hundred arms on the captured skies. For although that was a dangerous enemy, yet that war was with but one stock, and sprang from a single origin. Now must the race of mortals be cut off by me, wherever Nereus roars on all sides of the earth; this I swear by the Rivers of Hell, that glide in the Stygian grove beneath the earth. All methods have been already tried; but a wound that admits of no cure, must be cut away with the knife, that the sound parts may not be corrupted. I have as subjects, Demigods, and I have the rustic Deities, the Nymphs, and the Fauns, and the Satyrs, and the Sylvans, the inhabitants of the mountains; these, though as yet, we have not thought them worthy of the honor of Heaven, let us, at least, permit to inhabit the earth which we have granted them. And do you, ye Gods of Heaven, believe that they will be in proper safety, when Lycaon remarkable for his cruelty, has formed a plot against even me, who own and hold sway over the thunder and yourselves?"

All shouted their assent aloud, and with ardent zeal they called for vengeance on one who dared such crimes. Thus, when an impious band madly raged to extinguish the Roman name in the blood of Caesar, the human race was astonished with sudden terror at ruin so universal, and the whole earth shook with horror. Nor was the affectionate regard, Augustus of thy subjects less grateful to thee, than this was to Jupiter. Who, after he had, by means of his voice and his hand, suppressed their murmurs, all of them kept silence. Soon as the clamor had ceased, checked by the authority of their ruler, Jupiter again broke silence in these words:

"He, indeed, (dismiss your cares) has suffered dire punishment; but what was the offence and what the retribution, I will inform you.

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The report of the iniquity of the age had reached my ears; wishing to find this not to be the truth, I descended from the top of Olympus, and, a God in a human shape, I surveyed the earth. 'Twere an endless task to enumerate how great an amount of guilt was everywhere discovered; the report itself was below the truth."

I had now passed Maenalus, to be dreaded for its dens of beasts of prey, and the pine-groves of cold Lycaeus, together with Cyllene. After this, I entered the realms and the inhospitable abode of the Arcadian tyrant, just as the late twilight was bringing on the night. I gave a signal that a God had come, and the people commenced to pay their adorations. In the first place, Lycaon derided their pious supplications. Afterwards, he said, I will make trial, by a plain proof, whether this is a God, or whether he is a mortal; nor shall the truth remain a matter of doubt. He then makes preparations to destroy me, when sunk in sleep, by an unexpected death; this mode of testing the truth pleases him. And not content with that, with the sword he cuts the throat of an hostage that had been sent from the nation of the Molossians, and then softens part of the quivering limbs, in boiling water, and part he roasts with fire placed beneath. Soon as he had placed these on the table, I, with avenging flames, overthrew the house upon the household Gods, worthy of their master. Alarmed, he himself takes to flight, and having reached the solitude of the country, he howls aloud, and in vain attempts to speak; his mouth gathers rage from himself, and through its usual desire for slaughter, it is directed against the sheep, and even still delights in blood. His garments are changed into hair, his

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arms into legs; he becomes a wolf, and he still retains vestiges of his ancient form. His hoariness is still the same, the same violence appears in his features; his eyes are bright as before; he is still the same image of ferocity.

"Thus fell one house; but one house alone did not deserve to perish; wherever the earth extends, the savage Erinnys reigns. You would suppose that men had conspired to be wicked; let all men speedily feel that vengeance which they deserve to endure, for such is my determination."

Some, by their words approve the speech of Jupiter, and give spur to him, indignantly exclaiming; others, by silent assent fulfil their parts. Yet the entire destruction of the human race is a cause of grief to them all, and they inquire what is to be the form of the earth in future, when destitute of mankind? who is to place frankincense on the altars? and whether it is his design to give up the nations for a prey to the wild beasts? The ruler of the Gods forbids them making these enquiries, to be alarmed (for that the rest should be his care); and he promises, that from a wondrous source he will raise a generation unlike the preceding race.

And now he was about to scatter his thunder over all lands; but he was afraid lest, per chance, the sacred aether might catch fire, from so many flames, and the extended sky might become inflamed. He remembers, too, that it was in the decrees of Fate, that a time should come, at which the sea, the earth, and the palace of heaven, seized by the flames, should be burned, and the laboriously-wrought fabric of the universe should be in danger of perishing. The weapons forged by the hands of the Cyclops are

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laid aside; a different mode of punishment pleases him: to destroy mankind beneath the waves, and to let loose the rains from the whole tract of Heaven. At once he shuts the North Wind in the caverns of AEolus, and all those blasts which dispel the clouds drawn of the Earth; and then he sends forth the South Wind. With soaking wings the South Wind flies abroad, having his terrible face covered with pitchy darkness; his beard is loaded with showers, the water streams down from his hoary locks, clouds gather upon his forehead, his wings and the folds of his robe drip with wet; and, as with his broad hand he squeezes the hanging clouds, a crash arises, and thence showers are poured in torrents from the sky. Iris, the messenger of Juno, clothed in various colors, collects the waters, and bears a supply upwards to the clouds.

The standing corn is beaten down, and the expectations of the husbandman, now lamented by him, are ruined, and the labors of a long year prematurely perish. Nor is the wrath of Jove satisfied with his own heaven; but Neptune, his azure brother, aids him with his auxiliary waves. He calls together the rivers, which, soon as they had entered the abode of their ruler, he says, "I must not now employ a lengthened exhortation; pour forth all your might, so the occasion requires. Open your abodes, and, each obstacle removed, give full rein to your streams." Thus he commanded; they return, and open the mouths of their fountains, and roll on into the ocean with unobstructed course. He himself struck the Earth with his trident, on which it shook, and with a tremor laid open the sources of its waters. The rivers, breaking out, rush through the open plains, and bear away, to-

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gether with the standing corn, the groves, flocks, men, houses, and temples, together with their sacred utensils. If any house remained, and, not thrown down, was able to resist ruin so vast, yet the waves, rising aloft, covered the roof of that house, and the towers tottered, overwhelmed beneath the stream. And now sea and land had no mark of distinction; everything now was ocean; and to that ocean shores were wanting. One man takes possession of a hill, another sits in a curved boat, and plies the oars there where he had lately ploughed; another sails over the standing corn, or the roof of his country-house under water; another catches a fish on the top of an elm-tree. An anchor (if chance so directs) is fastened in a green meadow, or the curving keels come in contact with the vineyards, now below them; and where of late the slender goats had cropped the grass, there unsightly sea-calves are now reposing their bodies.

The Nereids wonder at the groves, the cities, and the houses under water; dolphins get into the woods, and run against the lofty branches, and beat against the tossed oaks. The wolf swims among the sheep; the wave carries along the tawny lions; the wave carries along the tigers. Neither does the powers of his lightning-shock avail the wild boar, nor his swift legs the stag, now borne away. The wandering bird, too, having long sought for land, where it may be allowed to light, its wings failing, falls down into the sea. The boundless range of the sea had overwhelmed the hills, and the stranger waves beat against the heights of the mountains. The greatest part is carried off by the water: those whom the water spares, long fastings overcome, through scantiness of food.

Phocis separates the Aonian from the Actaean region; a fruitful land

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while it was a land; but at that time it had become a part of the sea, and a wide plain of sudden waters. There a lofty mountain rises towards the stars, with two tops, by name Parnassus, and advances beyond the clouds with its summit. When here Deucalion (for the sea had covered all other places), borne in a little ship, with the partner of his couch, first rested; they adored the Corycian Nymphs, and the Deities of the mountain, and the prophetic Themis, who at that time used to give out oracular responses. No man was there more upright than he, nor a greater lover of justice, nor was any woman more regardful of the Deities than she.

Soon as Jupiter beholds the world overflowed by liquid waters, and sees that but one man remains out of so many thousands of late, and sees that but one woman remains out of so many thousands of late, both guiltless, and both worshippers of the Gods, he disperses the clouds; and the showers being removed by the North Wind, he both lays open the earth to the heavens, and the heavens to the earth. The rage, too, of the sea does not continue; and his three-forked trident now laid aside, the ruler of the deep assuages the waters, and calls upon the azure Triton standing above the deep, and having his shoulders covered with the native purple shells; and he bids him blow his resounding trumpet, and, the signal being given, to call back the waves and the streams. The hollow-wreathed trumpet is taken up by him, which grows to a great width from its lowest twist; the trumpet, which, soon as it receives the air in the middle of the sea, fills with its notes the shores lying under either sun. Then, too, as soon as it touched the lips of the God dripping with his wet beard, and being blown, sounded the bidden

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retreat; it was heard by all the waters both of earth and sea, and stopped all those waters by which it was heard. Now the sea again has a shore; their channels receive the full rivers; the rivers subside; the hills are seen to come forth. The ground rises, places increase in extent as the waters decrease; and after a length of time, the woods show their naked tops, and retain the mud left upon their branches.

The world was restored; which when Deucalion beheld to be empty, and how the desolate Earth kept a profound silence, he thus addressed Pyrrha, with tears bursting forth: - "O sister, O wife, O thou, the only woman surviving, whom a common origin, and a kindred descent, and afterwards the marriage tie has united to me, and whom now dangers themselves unite to me; we two are the whole people of the earth, whatever both the East and the West behold; of all the rest, the sea has taken possession. And even now there is no certain assurance of our lives; even yet do the clouds terrify my mind. What would now have been thy feelings, if without me thou hadst been rescued from destruction, O thou deserving of compassion? In what manner couldst thou have been able alone to support this terror? With whom for a consoler, to endure these sorrows? For I, believe me, my wife, if the sea had only carried thee off, should have followed thee, and the sea should have carried me off as well. Oh that I could replace the people that are lost by the arts of my father, and infuse the soul into the moulded earth! Now the mortal race exists in us two alone. Thus it has seemed good to the Gods, and we remain as mere samples of mankind."

He thus spoke, and they wept. They resolved to pray to the Deities of Heaven, and to seek relief through the sacred oracles. There is no de-

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lay; together they repair to the waters of Cephisus, though not yet clear, yet now cutting their wonted channel. Then, when they have sprinkled the waters poured on their clothes and their heads, they turn their steps to the temple of the sacred Goddess, the roof of which was defiled with foul moss, and whose altars were standing without fires. Soon as they reached the steps of the temple, each of them fell prostrate on the ground, and, trembling, gave kisses to the cold pavement. And thus they said:

"If the Deities, prevailed upon by just prayers, are to be mollified, if the wrath of the Gods is to be averted; tell us, O Themis, by what art the loss of our race is to be repaired, and give thy assistance, O most gentle Goddess to our ruined fortunes." The Goddess was moved, and gave this response: "Depart from my temple, and cover your heads, and loosen the garments girt around you, and throw behind your backs the bones of your great mother." For a long time they are amazed; and Pyrrha is the first by her words to break the silence, and then refuses to obey the commands of the Goddess; and begs her, with trembling lips, to grant her pardon, and dreads to offend the shades of her mother by casting her bones. In the meantime they reconsider the words of the response given, but involved in dark obscurity, and they ponder them among themselves. Upon that, the son of Prometheus soothes the daughter of Epimetheus with these gentle words, and says, "Either is my discernment fallacious, or the oracles are just, and advise no sacrilege. The earth is the great mother: I suspect that the stones in the body of the earth are the bones meant; these we are ordered to throw behind our backs." Although she descended from Titan, is moved by this interpretation of her husband, still her hope is involved in doubt;

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so much do they both distrust the advice of heaven; but what harm will it do to try?

They go down, and they veil their heads, and ungird their garments, and cast stones, as ordered, behind their footsteps. The stones (who could have believed it, but that antiquity is a witness of the thing?) began to lay aside their hardness and their stiffness, and by degrees to become soft; and when softened, to assume a new form. Presently after, when they were grown larger, a milder nature, too, was conferred on them, so that some shape of man might be seen in them, yet though but imperfect; and as if from the marble commenced to be wrought, not sufficiently distinct, and very like to rough statues. Yet that part of them which was humid with any moisture, and earthy, was turned into portions adapted for the use of the body. That which is solid, and cannot be bent, is changed into bones; that which was just now a vein, still remains under the same name. And in a little time by the interpositions of the Gods above, the stones thrown by the hands of the man, took the shape of a man, and the female race was renewed by the throwing of the woman. Thence are we a hardy generation, and able to endure fatigue, and we give proofs from what original we are sprung.

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The Deluge in the Satapatha Brahmana[1]

"In the water which was brought to Manu for washing he found a fish which told him that he would save him from a flood it Manu would save him. First, according to instructions, Manu put him in a jar, then he dug a pit in which he kept it, and then when the fish had become the largest of all fish, at the command, he took the fish to the sea. In the same year which the fish had indicated to him, he prepared a ship according to the directions of the fish. When the flood rose he entered the ship. The fish then swam up to him and to its horn he tied the rope of the ship, and by that means he passed swiftly up to yonder northern mountain. The fish then said, "I have saved thee. Fasten the ship to a tree but let not the water cut thee off whilst thou art on the mountain. As the water subsides, thou mayest gradually descend." Being desirous of offspring he engaged in worshipping and austerities. During this time he also performed a paka-sacrifice, he offered up in the waters clarified butter, sour milk, whey, and curds. From that a woman was produced in a year. With her he went on worshipping and performing austerities, wishing for offspring. Through her he generated this race, which is this race of Manu.

(1) "Sacred Books of the East" edited by F. Max Muller, translated by Julius Eggeling - Vol. XII, part 1.

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(1)

A Deluge Legend of the Leeward Islands.

Ruahatu, the Neptune of the South Sea Islanders, was sleeping in the depths of the ocean on a spot, that as his resort was sacred. A fisherman, either through forgetfulness or disregard of tabu, paddled his canoe in the forbidden waters, lowered his hooks among the branching corals at the bottom. The hooks became entangled in the hair of the sleeping god. When the fisherman tried to pull up his hooks, he was unable to move them. At length they were disentangled and he drew them to the surface. In an instant the god, aroused from his slumbers appeared at the surface of the water and after upbraiding him for his impiety, declared that the land was convicted of guilt and should be destroyed.

The fisherman prostrated himself before the god of the sea, begging forgiveness and asking to be spared from the punishment. Ruahatu, moved by his penitence, directed him to return home for his wife and child and then proceed to Toa Marama, which is situated within the reefs in the eastern side of Raiatea. Here he was promised security amid the destruction of the surrounding islands. The man hastened to his home and proceeded with his wife and child to the place appointed. Some say he took a friend who was living under his roof, a dog, a pig, and a pair of fowls.

They reached the refuge appointed before the close of day. As the sun approached the horizon, the waters of the ocean began to rise, the inhabitants of the adjacent shore left their homes and fled to the mountains. The waters continued to rise during the night and the next morning the tops of the mountains only appeared above the surface of the sea. Those were

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afterwards covered and all inhabitants of the land perished. When the waters had retired, the fisherman and his companions left their retreat, returned to the main land, and became the progenitors of the race.

(1)
William Ellis "Polynesian Researches." Vol. II. pp. 58 - 63.

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(1)

The Algonquin Tradition.

One day as Messou was hunting, the wolves which he used as dogs entered a great lake and were detained there.

Messou looking for them everywhere, a bird said to him, "I see them in the middle of this lake."

He entered the lake to rescue them, but the lake overflowing its banks covered the land and destroyed the world.

Messou, very much astonished at this, sent out the raven to find a piece of earth wherewith to rebuild the land, but the bird could find none; then he ordered the otter to dive for some, but the animal returned empty; at last he sent down the muskrat, who came back with ever so small a piece, which however, was enough for Messou to form the land on which we are.

The trees having lost their branches, he shot arrows at their naked trunks which became their limbs, revenged himself on those who had detained his wolves, and having married the muskrat, by it peopled the world.

(1)
Brinton "The Myths of the New World." pg. 209.

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